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THE DIARY

OF

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL BY ORDER OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

EDITED BY
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INTRODUCTION.

Though the following pages comprise Ranga Pillai's Diary for the period April 1, 1750, to April 30, 1751, the matter is distributed very unevenly, for almost the whole deals with the events of the seven months April to October, 1750. So far the record is practically continuous, save for two minor *lacunae* from August 11 to September 1, and from September 12 to October 7. On October 29 however begins a larger and more deplorable gap, which continues until April 16 of the following year. The minor gaps mentioned above do not greatly concern us. The principal event we should have found described is Bussy's capture of Gingee; and the diarist is seldom illuminating on military matters. The longer break is much more regrettable. We should probably have learnt a great deal, had this portion of the Diary survived, or been accessible, regarding the French negotiations with Nâsîr Jang which were just being renewed at the close of October. We might have had clearer evidence than exists at present about the circumstances under which the French troops attacked Nâsîr Jang's camp in the early morning of December 16; and learnt whether the alleged mistake, under which the attack

was delivered, just at the moment when Dupleix had made peace, was genuine or false. We should certainly have had a full account of the pompous ceremonies with which Muzaffar Jang was received at Pondichery, the agreements with the Pathans, and the reward secured by Dupleix himself.

But although so much of what would probably have been very valuable appears to be lost, the present instalment of the Diary contains a large amount of new and curious information. On April 1, 1750, N.S., the situation was briefly thus: Nâsîr Jang, Subahdar of the seven provinces of the South, lay encamped at Valudâvûr, some 7 miles west of Pondichery, with a large army composed of Moghul and Maratha horse, drawn from the wide-spread districts of his rule. There was with him also an English embassy, headed by Major Lawrence, and a small and inefficient English force under the immediate command of Captain Cope[1]. Facing them was the smaller array of Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Jang, supported by a contingent of French under

[1] After the action of April 4, N. S., Cope and d'Auteuil exchanged mutual recriminations regarding the breach of peace between their nations (*French Correspondence*, 1750, pp. 6–7). Oddly enough, Lawrence ascribes this correspondence to himself (Cambridge, *History*, p. 6). No doubt he inspired Cope's answer, but does not seem to have been in direct command, and certainly neither was addressed by d'Auteuil nor signed the answer to him.

d'Auteuil, much larger than that which the English had been able to spare. Orme states their numbers at 2,000 and 600 respectively.

However the French troops were unreliable, and their officers demoralised. The officers who had served in the inglorious campaign before Tanjore had succeeded in obtaining donations from Chandâ Sâhib, without incurring any great risk to life or limb. Many of these had insisted, on their return to Pondichery, that it was time they were relieved in the tour of field-duty; and those who had replaced them marched reluctantly on a service which promised harder blows and fewer rewards. However they had been placated by the advance of a month's batta[1] on behalf of Chandâ Sâhib; and it was hoped that this would confirm their faltering courage. But the news that they would have to encounter European troops with Nâsîr Jang more than counterbalanced the good effects of this advance. They renewed their representations. Dupleix sent out Bury, the commandant of the Pondichery garrison, to bring them to reason. He returned, professing to have done so; but on April 4, N.S., Nâsîr Jang advanced and a prolonged cannonade ensued between

[1] Captains, 400 rupees a month; Lieutenants, 250; Sous-Lieutenants, 200; Ensigns, 175.

the two armies. Little material harm was done on either side; but that evening 13 French officers insisted on resigning their commissions and returning immediately to Pondichery. Considering that this took place in view of the enemy, we must, I think, regard it as even more disgraceful than the mutiny of the English officers in Bengal in 1766.

The consequence of this action was considerable. The soldiers naturally regarded the position as desperate; and d'Auteuil had no alternative but to retreat hastily to Pondichery. He moved off at four o'clock next morning; but in the darkness and confusion, abandoned not only a body of French artillery-men, but also Muzaffar Jang, who surrendered himself immediately to his uncle.

In spite of their extraordinary misconduct, Dupleix had considerable difficulty in bringing the mutinous officers to justice. Strange as it may appear, their cause was not unpopular in Pondichery. Commissaries were named to try them, but proceeded with great laxity and partiality. The *Procureur-Général* communicated to the accused the most confidential documents of the Secretariat. In the long run Dupleix had to suspend the tribunal and break the accused by a resolution of the *Conseil supérieur*. Eleven were sent to Europe; one was allowed to go to China; and the

remaining one was permitted to stay with his family in India[1].

Meanwhile Nâsîr Jang had to be reckoned with. On April 4, when Dupleix was not too certain of the conduct of his officers, he had already written to the Subahdar[2]. On the 6th he wrote again, explaining with matchless impudence that he had withdrawn his troops in order to facilitate peace[3]. A few days later messengers arrived, saying that Nâsîr Jang desired peace, but still no letter came; so Dupleix wrote yet again, saying that, as his overtures had been ignored, he was again sending out his troops[4].

The same day there came a messenger from Lawrence, offering to mediate with Nâsîr Jang. Nothing could have angered Dupleix more. He agrees with the diarist that it would be better to seek a sweeper's mediation, and the messenger was dismissed with the choicest vituperation—Ranga Pillai not only repeating

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1 My principal authority for this is Dupleix' despatch to the Company of October 3, 1750, in which he enters into great detail (*Arch. des Col.*). Dupleix' word was not worth very much, and he was as capable of disguising unpleasant truths as any statesman who ever lived. It is therefore possible that the officers had some other motive than mere greed of money. But it would demand an extraordinary motive indeed to justify an officer in quitting his colours in the face of the enemy.

2 *Infra*, p. 10.

3 *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (ed. Aimé-Martin), Vol. II, p. 735.

4 *Infra*, p. 32.

Dupleix' words but adding somewhat of his own[1].

Meanwhile the third letter with its threat proved more persuasive than the first two; and two Company's servants, du Bausset and Delarche, were sent as envoys to the enemy's camp. They set out on April 19 and returned on the 23rd[2], for Nâsîr Jang would neither release Muzaffar Jang nor give Arcot to Chandâ Sâhib. But Delarche brought back a secret message, which he whispered in Dupleix' ear[3]. Almost certainly this related to the intrigue which Dupleix wished to establish in the enemy's camp, by winning over some principal supporters of Nâsîr Jang, such as the Pathan Nawâbs of Cuddapah, Sâvanûr, and Kurnool[4].

As the embassy had not procured peace, Dupleix then resolved to try the appearance of force again. When d'Auteuil had brought his shaken troops back to the *Blanchisserie*—a large building lying to the north of the city—Dupleix had visited them in person and endeavoured to rekindle their spirit. He seems to have succeeded, for he described a curious scene:—'Toute la troupe fit un cercle autour de moy, et chaque soldat s'empressa à me

[1] *Infra*, p. 33.
[2] Orme and other authorities give them a week.
[3] *Infra*, p. 67.
[4] See *Mémoire pour le sieur Godeheu*, p. 28.

demander si j'étois content de luy. Les mêmes faisoient la même demande à leurs officiers, ceux-cy aux soldats; la satisfaction étoit réciproque.[1]" Accordingly the troops were pushed forward to Olukarai; and on the night of April 27 a party of 300 men set out under Prévost de La Touche to beat up the Moghul camp. The attack was made two hours before dawn; and although the execution done was probably slight, it undoubtedly demoralised the enemy. It was the first of a score of such night-attacks, made by both French and English, almost all of which were equally successful. Nâsîr Jang promptly resolved to withdraw to Arcot and pass the hot weather there.

Almost immediately afterwards the English marched back to Fort St. David. They had not succeeded in much. Their military advice had been ignored[2]. They had performed no conspicuous military service. They had failed to obtain the grants they desired for the country lying round Madras and St. David's. They were told that they should have these grants if they would accompany Nâsîr Jang

[1] See the despatch of Dupleix cited above. It should be added that the French had behaved well in the retreat.

[2] Lawrence claimed with great justice that, had Nâsîr Jang placed himself between the French and Pondichery before attacking them on April 4, not a man could have escaped.

to Arcot; but they were weary of intrigues which they could only feel without being able to follow, and departed sulkily—if Ranga Pillai's information was correct, they were dismissed with slight ceremony[1].

We are now able—I believe for the first time—to follow with tolerable accuracy the events which in the next few months centred round Arcot. The wretched Muzaffar Jang was no sooner in his uncle's hands than he longed to be out of them again; and this, it would seem, more out of sheer instability of mind than the rigour of his treatment. Indeed close imprisonment was seldom practised in India. We have already seen the latitude enjoyed by Chandâ Sâhib at Satâra. Muzaffar Jang, though probably more narrowly confined, never seems to have been at a loss for communication with his friends either in Nâsîr Jang's camp or at Pondichery. Ranga Pillai mentions several letters to Dupleix and Chandâ Sâhib, which plainly indicate the vicissitudes of feeling through which he passed. First of all he desires his family to be sent to him. Then he decides that escape is his only means of safety, and gets 2,000 rupees for that purpose; but as usual spends them on some other end. A week later he despairs of life. He is reported

[1] *Infra*, p. 115.

to have attempted suicide. Then an attempt is made to procure his escape by cutting a hole through the wall of the house in which he was confined. Then again he is petitioning Nâsîr Jang and convinced that he may be saved if only his mother is released by Dupleix. In short the misfortune of his imprisonment, brought about as it was by his own inconstancy of mind, shows up in relief an unheroic nature placed by chance on a scene too large and exigent.

His uncle and captor, Nâsîr Jang, hardly shows to more advantage, although the contemptuous account of him afterwards given by Dupleix and repeated by Malleson does him something less than justice. Though no strategist, as is shown by his refusal to take Lawrence's advice before the action of April 4 and interpose between the French and Pondichery, he did not lack personal bravery; and his retreat to Arcot after the action of April 28 was probably due in part to the military necessity of finding forage for his cavalry, in part to the difficulty of keeping his heterogeneous army together. The surrender of Muzaffar Jang enabled him to withdraw with a show of success. However there was one considerable difficulty in his way. His sister, the mother of Muzaffar Jang, was in Pondichery, and Dupleix would not allow her to depart. It looked, as

the Nawâb of Cuddapah is said to have urged upon the Subahdar, very much as if she was being detained as 'a pawn for debt in a European town.' Either Pondichery must be taken or peace be made on reasonable terms. The first was regarded as a practical impossibility —the Moghuls had always considered European forts as much oo strong to be taken except by blockade, and Sirâj-ud-daulah's capture of Calcutta in 1756 was as much a surprise to himself as to the English. There remained the second plan; and in order to compel Dupleix to give better terms, it was resolved to seize the French factories to the northward, at Masulipatam and Yânâm. This was naturally done with great ease. It was indeed asserted by the French (and repeated even by so excellent a historian as the late M. Cultru) that the English at Ingoram assisted in the seizure of Yânâm; but the correspondence of the chief at Ingeram shows that the English took no part in the matter[1].

This provoked an entirely unexpected retort. Dupleix despatched a small expedition by sea from Pondichery, which at once captured Masulipatam—the more easily because the *faujdar* lived with his peons

[1] Cultru, *Dupleix*, pp. 292 and 294. The Ingeram Correspondence occurs in the *Letters to F.St.D.*, *1750.*

outside the fort[1]. Masulipatam was taken by La Tour on July 2/13[2].

This however was but an interlude in the negotiations and intrigues which were in fact proceeding between Arcot and Pondichery. At first Nâsîr Jang had decided to bestow the Carnatic on Muhammad 'Alî, second son of the late Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn, who was strong in promises of English support; but for the sake of a settlement, Chandâ Sâhib might have Trichinopoly and Tanjore. Dupleix was not willing to accede to this arrangement, which was proposed at the end of April[3]; but in the middle of May, when an offer was made to bestow Arcot on Chandâ Sâhib if his behaviour was satisfactory for four months, the French Governor decided that this concession was worth accepting; and although his policy was as yet entirely unformulated and shapeless, we find him sending a secret message to Nâsîr Jang that, if he will grant the French Masulipatam and the dependent country, they will send 4,000 soldiers to overthrow all his enemies and conquer the country for him as far as Delhi[4]. The theory of legitimacy, by which he subsequently proved Nâsîr Jang to be the basest of usurpers, was of

[1] Le Riche to Dupleix, n.d. (*P.R.* No. 84, f. 220).
[2] *Letteres éd. et cur.*, Vol. II, p. 738.
[3] *Infra*, pp. 91, etc.
[4] *Infra*, pp. 145, etc.

course intended only for English consumption. However these discussions came to nothing, although at the end of the month it was proposed (so far as the ambiguous terms employed yield a meaning) that Dupleix should conquer Tanjore for the Muhammadans, and receive in return further territory round Kârikâl[1]. In spite of Dupleix' indignant amazement at the news, Nâsîr Jang had in fact decided to revert to his first plan, and granted the Carnatic to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. This was actually done on May 11, N.S.[2] But the factions, into which the darbâr seems to have been divided, prevented his receiving whole-hearted support even when he had been formally appointed. Dupleix was at once advised by the other party to seize the fort at Valudâvûr, evidently with a view to discrediting Muhammad 'Alî Khân[3]. Meanwhile another intrigue with a more definite purpose had sprung up. Dupleix was informed that if Saiyid Lashkar Khân could not persuade Nâsîr Jang to release his prisoner, he would rebel and imprison Nâsîr Jang himself[4]. In June came news of a serious dispute between the Subahdar and the Pathan Nawâbs, arising out of the former's claim to peshkash[5].

[1] *Infra*, p. 194.
[2] *Infra*, p. 157.
[3] *Infra*, p. 280.
[4] *Infra*, p. 175.
[5] *Infra*, p. 289.

This was much too promising to be passed over. Within a few days Dupleix and Chandâ Sâhib were busily arranging to despatch a secret messenger to weave together the threads of revolt; and the latter was authorized to promise no less than 7 lakhs of rupees to the conspirators.[1] These however either felt too weak to attempt to overthrow Nâsîr Jang without the certain aid of European troops or else were too half-hearted to make any motion of themselves. The next news we get is of the despatch of a messenger from Arcot to Pondichery, saying that if the French will attack Muhammad 'Alî Khân in the Gingee country, the Pathan troops under him will mutiny and murder him, and then the French and Pathans can march together on Arcot[2]. Thus at every step this plot recalls that by which Sirâj-ud-daulah was overthrown in Bengal; and the Pathans were to prove in the event only a little more resolute allies than Clive found in Mîr J'afar and his supporters.

Meanwhile, the French had been attempting to occupy that part of the country lying to the south and west of Pondichery,—an attempt which was chiefly obstructed by the dissatisfaction of their ill-paid sepoys. In June we learn that they had at last got possession of Villiyanallûr and Tiruviti. These attempts

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[1] *Infra*, pp. 303, etc. [2] *Infra*, pp. 343, etc.

drew down Muhammad 'Alî Khân into that part of the country; and, as he could not face the French without English help, incidentally involved the grant of those countries which in the previous April they had sought in vain from Nâsîr Jang. Almost the last official act of Charles Floyer (who ceased to be Governor on July 6/17) was the submission to his Council of Muhammad 'Alî's proposal to pay 10,000 rupees a month for English help until the Poonamallee country had been actually handed over to them[1]. It was decided to send out a body of 600 Europeans and Topasses.

They took the field on June 30/July 11, under the luckless command of Captain James Cope, but accomplished little beyond protecting Muhammad 'Alî from French attacks. Indeed there was still at this time a marked reluctance on both sides to come to blows. Thus after some three weeks' aimless marching and countermarching, it was proposed to escalade Tiruviti, which the French had garrisoned with a sergeant's party; the Nawâb 'liked the scheme,' says Joseph Smith, who was actually serving with Cope, 'but his troops begged to be excused, so nothing was effected. The two nations having never

[1] The fort at Poonamallee was occupied with Muhammad 'Alî's consent on September 13/24; but the farman for the country was received only on January 9/20, 1751, after Nâsîr Jang's death.

committed any hostilities against each other, our commandant could not begin.[1] '

Lawrence, however, whom chance had placed for a while in sole command at St. David's as he was the only member of Council present who was continued in his functions, ordered Cope to bring the French to action. On July 21/August 1, the English marched to engage the French. They were found entrenched in a large tope with 10 guns. After a prolonged cannonade in which the English had the worst of the exchange, Cope withdrew, as the enemy's position was too strong to be attacked with the small number of Europeans at his disposal. Three weeks later he was ordered back to St. David's, as his presence in the field seemed quite useless[2].

This was a serious blunder, for Cope's presence in the field had constrained the French into inaction; but Lawrence, a gallant and skilful soldier, was a most indifferent politician, devoid alike of courage and imagination. Dupleix took instant advantage of his blunder. The French troops in the field were at once reinforced and ordered to attack Muhammad 'Alî. They did so on August 21/ September 1 near Tiruviti. La Tour commanded the right wing, Bussy the left, and d'Auteuil the centre[3].

[1] Orme MSS., India, II, ff. 311-312.

[2] *Public Despatch to England,* October 24, 1750.

[3] *Lettres éd. et cur.*, Vol. II, p. 740.

Their victory was complete. Muhammad 'Alî's camp and all his artillery—30 guns and 2 mortars bearing the arms of Great Britain, we are told [1]—fell into the hands of the French. The joy in Pondichery was extreme. A *Te deum* was sung ; salvos of artillery were fired ; Chandâ Sâhib distributed sugar to the populace ; and all the more eminent inhabitants of Pondichery assembled at a ball at Dupleix' house (on the very site where the *Gouvernement* still stands). In his elation Dupleix assured the merchants that all the troubles were over and that now at last they would be able to trade in peace.[2]

And the events of the next four months seemed with delusive prosperity to be realizing his utmost expectations. The French leaders did not halt long to enjoy their success at Tiruviti. Bussy with his great military talent perceived the necessity of pressing after the enemy; he inspired Dupleix with the same spirit ; and Dupleix forced the inactive d'Auteuil into something like energy.[3] Nevertheless it was not till September 11, that Bussy with an advanced detachment arrived before Gingee, not 40 miles away. There he was attacked by a strong party of the fugitives,

[1] *Mémoire pour le sieur Dupleix*, p. 57.
[2] *Infra*, pp. 363, etc.
[3] Dupleix to d'Auteuil, *ap.* Hamont, *Dupleix*, p. 127.

but beat them off with ease, and, on d'Auteuil's arrival with the main body, at once carried the fortress of Gingee by a *coup de main*. This was a feat which we hardly rivalled until 40 years later under Cornwallis we stormed certain of the rock-forts in Mysore.

After this, however, d'Auteuil seemed strangely resolved to rest on Bussy's laurels. Dupleix wrote, urging him to advance at once[1], in the expectation that the Pathans would seize the opportunity to overthrow Nâsîr Jang, news of which he was expecting with great impatience[2]. D'Auteuil did actually venture to push on as far as Chêtpattu, but on hearing that Nâsîr Jang had reached Dêsûr, (some 20 miles away), he withdrew to the neighbourhood of Gingee, alleging in his defence that the Pathan proposals must have been made only to deceive the French[3]. About this time too this languid officer seems to have demanded his recall, complaining of sickness, of the rains (which this year began with unusual earliness and severity)[4], and of his men's reluctance to remain in the field. Dupleix had much ado to prevent his marching his troops back to

[1] Dupleix to d'Auteuil, *ap.* Hamont, *Dupleix*, p. 130.
[2] *Infra*, pp. 376 and 382.
[3] *Infra*, p. 395.
[4] *Public Despatch to England*, February 7, 1751.

Pondichery[1], and forwarded to him every scrap of encouraging news that he received[2]. But he felt indignant at the way in which his orders to advance had been neglected, and told the diarist towards the end of October that, had d'Auteuil only done as he was told, Nâsîr Jang would already have been either a corpse or a prisoner[3].

Meanwhile the French successes at Tiruviti and Gingee had compelled Nâsîr Jang to move from Arcot; but the early break of the North-East monsoon embarrassed him enormously. His artillery with great exertions could only cover four miles a day; and numbers of baggage-animals died for lack of fodder[4]. By the end of October however he reached a position only a league distant from the French at Gingee[5]; the two armies were separated by a river which the rains had for the time being rendered impassable.

In spite of the neighbourhood of the French troops, the Pathans still hesitated to strike, although their hostility to the Subahdar was now the common talk of the camp[6]. At the beginning of October they had sent to Dupleix a man named 'Abd-ul-lah (probably the Turk who knew twelve languages, whom Ranga

[1] Dupleix' Letters *ap.* Hamont, *Dupleix*, pp. 132, 133.
[2] *Infra*, pp. 397, etc., and 401, etc. [3] *Infra*, p. 415.
[4] *Infra*, p. 401. [5] *Infra*, p. 420.
[6] *Infra*, p. 420.

Pillai has already mentioned, though he says nothing of this visit), with whom Dupleix agreed to attack Nâsîr Jang's camp, in order to give the Pathans the opportunity they desired[1].

However, on October 29, the French Governor was negotiating once more with Nâsîr Jang, promising to help the Subahdar just as he had loved and helped Muzaffar Jang, and engaging that his troops should not move while the negotiations were in progress[2].

At this point, as I have already noted, the diary breaks off, only to be continued in the middle of the following April. It is very likely that, were Ranga Pillai's evidence available, we should be able to form a definite judgment as to the good faith of Dupleix' conduct in the final attack on Nâsîr Jang on December 5/16. The only point that is definitely known of the six weeks that followed the last entry in the diary is that the rains continued so heavily as to render military movement impossible. It is probable that the negotiations with Nâsîr Jang continued. Orme tells us that the latter agreed to terms on December 3/14. The question is, which side was Dupleix betraying? Was he willing to give up the Pathans, or were the negotiations

[1] Cultru, *Dupleix*, p. 251. [2] *Infra*, p. 422.

with the Subahdar intended only to lull him into a false security until the weather would permit the French to move? My personal opinion inclines to the latter view, as being on the whole the more probable.

In any case de La Touche, who had replaced the gouty d'Auteuil in command of the French, marched on the night of December 5/16, and reached Nâsîr Jang's outposts at four in the morning. He attacked at once, and a lively action ensued which lasted till eight o'clock. The French pressed on into the camp, keeping off with artillery fire the swarms of horse that hung on their flanks. Nâsîr Jang was awakened, but, before proceeding to the scene of conflict, he scrupulously performed all the Mussalman rites of prayer and purification. These finished, he rode forth on his elephant, and, finding the Pathans drawn up apart and taking no share in the battle, advanced to upbraid them for their backwardness. One of the Nawâbs—the accounts differ as to which actually committed the deed—then shot him with a carbine; the fallen prince's head was struck off, and carried round the camp in proof of the triumph of the conspirators; and the captive Muzaffar Jang was at once acknowledged as Subahdar. At four o'clock that afternoon the people of Pondichery witnessed the strange sight of Chandâ

Sâhib hurrying on foot to the *Gouvernement*. He was carrying the glad news to Dupleix.

There followed such festivities as no European settlement had ever seen, with salutes, elaborate darbârs and processions of gaily dressed horsemen and richly caparisoned elephants. The support of the French was rewarded by grants of lands round Pondichery and Kârikâl and of the town and district of Masulipatam. Moreover, Dupleix was named Nawâb of all the country from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin. M. Cultru regarded this last as a mere honorific suzerainty, involving no powers of direct administration[1]. But that, I think, somewhat under-estimates the significance of the grant. It is true that, when Nizâm-ul-mulk conferred the title on Nâsîr Jang, it did amount to nothing more than a general superintendence. But when made to a European, it evidently conveyed powers of almost unlimited interference, and from its very indefiniteness might have covered the exercise of complete control. In the event Dupleix (like Clive) preferred the system of dual Government.

All this was highly gratifying to French pride; but what was still more gratifying yet remained. A great part of Nâsîr Jang's

[1] Cultru, *Dupleix*, p. 257.

treasure was saved from pillage by the efforts of La Touche, Bussy and Law, and carried into Pondichery. It was publicly announced that it included coin to the value of a crore of rupees, besides silver bullion and 18 chests of jewels. There were of course innumerable claimants. The Pathan Nawâbs had been promised a half-share; and there were considerable debts to be paid to the French Company, to Dupleix himself and to his friends. But even so, it is related that every one, from the councillor to the writer, from the captain to the private, had his share[1]; and officers who only joined the service later looked back with regret to the happy days when a mere ensign received 60,000 rupees. Never had so much gold been seen in Pondichery[2]. It was comparable with the solid gains of the battle of Plassey.

Such was the brilliant success which had been secured by the good fortune and opportunism of Dupleix. It remained for him to consolidate his gains. Bussy was despatched with 300 Europeans and a body of sepoys under 'Abd-ul-rahmân to establish Muzaffar Jang in the Deccan; while another body under La Tour assisted Chandâ Sâhib to overcome all resistance in the Carnatic.

[1] Cultru, *Dupleix*, pp. 258-259. [2] Gentil, *Mémoires*, p. 50.

The first-named moved northwards in January 1751, and, when entering the territories of the Nawâb of Cuddapah, was killed in a conflict which arose with the still-discontented Pathan Nawâbs. Bussy at once named Nizâm 'Alî, youngest brother of Nâsîr Jang, as the new Subahdar, probably with an eye to establishing an easy control over the Deccan darbâr. But Dupleix cancelled this appointment and ordered him to cause the eldest brother Salabat Jang, to be recognized as Subahdar[1]. This was done; and Bussy then moved on to the Kistna. There he stormed the fortress of Kurnool, and advanced to encounter a Maratha army which lay between that place and Hyderabad. The Marathas however were recalled to Poona by news of troubles there; and so the French and their Subahdar were able to continue their march unmolested. Chandâ Sâhib and La Tour were all this time reducing or compounding with the rebellious killedars of the Carnatic before advancing to drive Muhammad 'Alî from Trichinopoly where he had found refuge on the death of Nâsîr Jang.

Such was the situation in Southern India at the end of April, 1751, when the present

[1] *Corrce. de Pondichèry avec Bengale*, Vol. III, p. 142. The advantage of appointing the eldest brother was that he could make donations with a greater appearance of decency.

instalment of the diary closes. The French seemed everywhere successful. When their enemies the English had intervened, they had done so with neither resolution nor success. As the diarist says, they were like the jackal who burnt his skin in stripes in order to imitate the tiger, and perished in anguish. And yet Ranga Pillai had already recorded the appointment and arrival of that cold, austere and silent man, Thomas Saunders, before whose implacable hostility the successes of Dupleix were to melt away, and who before his own return to Europe was to witness the recall of his great rival and the end of one chapter of Anglo-French rivalry in India.

ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.

APRIL 1750.

Wednesday, *April 1.*[1]—At seven o'clock this morning, the Governor sent for me and asked if there was any news. I replied, 'Every one expects peace, not war. Even the people at Cuddalore and Fort St. David, who were saying that war was certain and that Mahfuz Khân had been made subahdar, now say that peace will be made, and that the Governor of Pondichery is lucky enough to make troubles high as mountains melt away like snow before the sun. They say in Fort St. David that your glory in overcoming Nâsîr Jang shines like the sun. With you, anxiety always precedes great good fortune. You have now experienced anxiety, and are about to win great glory for yourself and much territory for the Company.' He said that God would certainly bless us.

Then Coja Sultân came and asked why the Governor wanted him. The Governor answered that he had not sent; and the chobdar and the head-peon, being questioned, also declared that they had sent no one. The Governor said some one else must have sent

[1] *23rd Panguni, Sukla.*

for him. M. Bury observed that, as was usual on the 1st of April, some one must have played him a trick by sending word that the Governor wanted him.

Just then a servant girl told Coja Sultân that Madame invited him to take coffee with her. The Governor said M. de La Gatinais had been tricked in the same way, being told that Madame wanted him. M. Bury said that M. de La Gatinais was once congratulated on his recovery when he was still lying sick at home; and added that such jokes were commonly played.

Then Coja Sultân told the Governor that a peon returning from Cuddalore had informed him that Mahfuz Khân had gone there in a palankin with ten peons, and that his face was changed and his body trembled. M. Friell then came to see the Governor who afterwards sent for me and said, 'Write to Cuddalore to send 1,390[1] dollars being the principal and interest on the 1,000[2] gold coins due from Cuddalore.' I replied that I had written about it two days before.

He then said that, as the Chinaman's goods had been delivered, he should be told to pay for them. I replied, 'The merchants are col-

[1] The unit is omitted in the original.
[2] The hundreds, tens and units are omitted.

lecting in their money. If you will pay for the 300 candies of tutenague, I will see that the amount is paid on Saturday.'—'Are only 200 candies of it due on the Company's account?' he asked.—I answered, 'The merchants cannot collect their debts owing to the troubles; otherwise I should not have mentioned it and they could have arranged the matter themselves.'—'Well,' he continued, 'I will order the contract to be given to them; they can give a receipt for the advance usually given; then they can pay what is due on the Chinaman's goods.' I said I would tell them to come to him.

When Alagappa Chetti, Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti, blind Muttiya Chetti, Arunâchala Chetti the sinner, and Râmakrishna Chetti came, I told them what the Governor had said, and added that they must collect what was due for the goods and have it ready. They asked for 10,000 rupees at least in addition. I replied I had great difficulty in persuading the Governor thus far, and dismissed them. They departed accordingly.

I then said, 'Sampâti Râo has been questióning the Tiruviti people and has departed with what he has collected. Mudâmiah, the killedar of Chidambaram and renter of Bhuvanagiri, persists in declaring he will not pay me a cash. Mahfuz Khân has became master

of the country, and is receiving the rents. As he is managing that country, I think he is responsible for the rent; and my people have told him so plainly. He has always been trying to cheat me, so God will punish him. Moreover he has tied *tôranams* in the Venkatammâlpêttai country and is managing it.' The Governor answered that he should pay me what he owed.

As usual, I reported to him to-day the following news:—'Muttukrishna Pillai, Mr. Floyer's dubâsh, has tied *tôranams* in Tîrtanagari and is managing it. The English have tied *tôranams* in my jaghir in the Devanâmpattanam country. There is no one managing Villupuram, because Nâsîr Jang is encamped there with his army; I don't know what is happening there. Sampâti Râo's younger brother, Hukumat Râo, and Darvesh Muhammad, armed with guns given them by the English and procured elsewhere, have released Malrâjâ. He then marched with a few people to Poonamallee, Ponneri, Manimangalam, Conjeeveram, and Chingleput, tied *tôranams* in these and other places, and acts as amaldâr. After the death of Shaikh Ahmad, who was Muhammad 'Alî Khân's amaldâr in the Porto Novo and Bhuvanagiri countries, his younger brother succeeded him for a time. I hear now that Mahfuz Khân has sent the latter as

amaldâr to Porto Novo.' The Governor replied, 'In a month, according to your desire, God will have given you twice as much country as you have now.' I answered, 'If I have your favour, I can manage thirty pargannahs like this or indeed the whole world.' He said that God had blessed me hitherto.

Then M. Friell brought a Chinese dancing-doll which he gave to the Governor who examined it curiously.

Then a letter came from M. d'Auteuil at his camp at Kumblamâttûr. On reading it, his face fell and he looked troubled. I cannot tell what has caused this. He said to me, 'M. d'Auteuil is very imprudent. Will they really make peace without fighting? Is Muhammad Anwar Khân reliable? Will he allow his negotiations to come to nothing? I have lent great sums of money, and made over to the Company the jaghirs given me by them. So my money is gone. You know what the Company is to work under. They will praise me and be satisfied so long as affairs go well and profits are made, but if anything goes wrong, they will blame me for having made enemies of the country powers without orders. You know that all the money is mine; so I shall both lose my money and be blamed as well.' So he spoke for about an hour, quite forgetting his courage. I replied, 'All this

has happened because you are destined to become prosperous and acquire dominions, and win the glory of having easily conquered him who rebelled against the Pâdshâh. Your fame will shine like the sun in every country washed by the ocean. Victories have been won in Europe from the time of the late King Louis XIV till now—but with four lakhs of soldiers and at great expense. Moreover many men were slain; and the King himself and his sons marched to the battlefield. Yet, for all the great extent of France, which is 1,000 leagues in extent, and for all the vast stores of ammunition, they took six months or a year to take a town or fort and even sometimes altogether failed. Whereas you came here to trade. This town is but three miles in circuit, in another's territory, surrounded by different Governments, with but 1,000 soldiers, a little stock of money and no munitions to speak of. Yet as soon as you desired it, you easily defeated the country powers in spite of their lakhs of horsemen and vast extent of territories; nor did you spend much or lose many men. By your conquest of India and display of French glory, the King was delighted and decorated you with the cross and red ribbon of St. Louis, and other emblems of high rank, according to your custom; he will declare that he will ever remember the glory

obtained for his family by the conquest of this kingdom, that he is deeply indebted to you and your family, and that he will show you the greatest honour. You will not be treated otherwise. With you anxiety always precedes great glory and advantage, and, as you are now so troubled, you must be about to grasp glory and wealth. In the former English war you conquered Madras and received the cross of St. Michel, so that your fame spread throughout the country ; and the Company got 30 or 40 lakhs of gold, silver, goods, etc. Then when they besieged Pondichery, and Anwar-ud-dîn helped them, you overthrew him and won the glory of making a new subahdar in the Carnatic and defeating the English in spite of their great army. You have also got the Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr pargannahs with a revenue of 1½ or 2 lakhs of rupees for the Company. After your victory at Tanjore, you got 250 villages and great wealth, besides the 81 villages already added to Kârikâl. Thus your glory shines like the sun throughout the country. Now God designs by the troubles of Nâsîr Jang's invasion to give you yet greater glory and wider dominions so that your fame may shine like the sun throughout the universe. So be not troubled.' Thus speaking, I reminded him of what had happened before, and explained all things to him from beginning to

end for about two hours. I added, 'Nâsîr Jang will be defeated. Rest assured that this is a time of bad fortune for Nâsîr Jang, the English, and all those who are proud.' He replied he hoped God would protect him.

He then said, 'M. d'Auteuil writes that Chandâ Sâhib's people seized a man and boy with a letter which was read in Chandâ Sâhib's camp by M. d'Auteuil, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, Chandâ Sâhib and his son, Razâ Sâhib. It said that if they joined the Marathas they should be well rewarded. When the man was questioned with threats and urged to declare fully who had given him the letter, he persisted in saying that he had found it on the road. But when the boy was given sweetmeats to encourage him, he said that it had been sent by one of Muzaffar Jang's jemadars to some one in Nâsîr Jang's camp. The jemadar was then brought and questioned and he replied vaguely. As he could not be strictly questioned without Nawâb Muzaffar Jang's orders, he was sent to the latter; but he dismissed him without further enquiry. This makes Chandâ Sâhib, M. d'Auteuil and others believe that Muzaffar Jang is intriguing with Nâsîr Jang. So they have written to me.' I replied, 'Muzaffar Jang would never [ ].'

At seven o'clock this morning a sergeant named Saint-Marc rode in from our camp at Kumblamâttûr. When I was reporting Nâsîr Jang's camp news to the Governor, he delivered a letter from M. d'Auteuil which says that 15 officers refuse to fight, because our army is too small to attack the enemy's 50,000 horse, besides the 2,000 sepoys and 10 or 12 guns belonging to the English. They say only the Europeans, Coffrees and sepoys on our side can fight and that all know the bravery and watchfulness of Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's and Chandâ Sâhib's armies. So, they ask, 'How can we depend upon them in battle? If our army is surrounded, all will perish; we can be safe only under the walls of a fortress; how can we conquer an enemy who has both men and walls, whereas we lack both?' The Governor discussed this and other matters with M. Bury and two officers (whose names I do not know). I have written this from what M. Saint-Marc told the Governor and M. Bury.

Then letters came from Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib. They say, 'Yesterday all the officers and soldiers opposed M. d'Auteuil's fighting, as the enemy was strong with great stores of powder and shot, guns and good artillery-men. The Muhammadans say they cannot shoot well before

the English, that they cannot fight without shelter or bear the heat. M. d'Auteuil has told this to me and Muzaffar Jang, and has written to you. You formerly wrote promising that they should obey us in future and that we could be easy at heart. M. d'Auteuil thereupon prepared for battle, and the army was ready to fight, but not the officers. If Nâsîr Jang knew that our troops were backward, in spite of our strong forces [ ].'

Saturday, April 4.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if any news had come in. I replied, 'People speak now of peace, now of battle; I know nothing certain.'

He then wrote a letter to Nâsîr Jang and had two copies of it taken, one for Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and the other for Chandâ Sâhib, to be sent with letters saying that the enclosed had been sent to Nâsîr Jang; he then had these letters despatched. I think that matters would have gone differently if suitable letters had been written to Nâsîr Jang, when he wrote first through M. le Verrier and the Nawâb of Surat, Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân (son of Coja 'Abd-ul-lah Khân), Nawâb of Rajahmundry and Chicacole, and M. Coquet, the chief of Bunder, then through Shâh Nawâz

[1] *26th Panguni, Sukla.*

Khân and Saiyid Lashkar Khân when he was at Sîrpi and those parts, and lastly through Morô Pandit and Khâzi Dâyem after reaching Tirupati and Tiruvannâmalai. But the present letter is not written in answer to one from Nâsîr Jang, so it is not the same.

I heard the following camp news this evening :—While our troops were lying at Kumblamâttûr, about 2,000 of the enemy's horse moved out and halted in a thick grove east of our camp. The rest of the army lay ready in the west, and opened fire upon our people who returned it and our army was drawn up ready for action. This cannonade continued till evening. We lost two camels, three horses, five or six bullocks, a few sheep, four Muhammadans, one European and a woman; and they lost two elephants with howdahs, another with a flag, and many horses, bullocks and men. As evening came on, there was no fight. This was the news related in the letter brought by a messenger at nine o'clock to-night. I reported this to the Governor, who wondered why he had received no news of it yet.

Sunday, April 5.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked why no detailed news of yesterday's fight had yet

[1] *27th Panguni, Sukla.*

come, and what had caused the delay. Just then one of Muzaffar Khân's people arrived and reported that the enemy had lost 20 or 30 men and 20 or 25 horses, and we only three or four men. When we were still talking about this, about half-past eight a letter came from M. d'Auteuil. The Governor read it and said :—'After yesterday's fight, matters were promising, but fifteen officers refused to act and prepared to set out for Pondichery. Thereon all the soldiers declared that they could not fight without officers ; and as the officers were dissatisfied and his remaining there was useless, he was retiring on Villiyanallûr.' He added angrily, 'See how this affair has been ruined by the officers' misconduct on the very verge of success ! I will punish them severely.' He then sent for M. Bury and said, 'Imprison in the fort all the officers who come inside the gates.' He also ordered me to find out all the officers coming in and report them to him.[1]

When the Portuguese in charge of the China ship asked the Governor for his money, he asked me how much was due. I replied that, out of 28,230 rupees due for goods bought for the Company, 28,000 was still owing. He gave an order on M. Guillard and told me to

[1] For comments on this singular episode, see the Introduction.

get the money and pay the China ship-man ; the tutenague was to be delivered to the merchants, to be sold and paid for as soon as possible. I took the order, and said I would see the captain of the China ship to-morrow, as to-day was Sunday, and pay him. He agreed and I sent him away.

Then the peon I had sent told me that five officers had come in by the Valudâvûr gate. I reported this to the Governor when he was eating. Immediately he wrote to M. Bury ordering them to be imprisoned in the fort. It was done accordingly.

Vakîl Subbayyan's peon arrived at half-past one. He said, 'All our army, Europeans and Chandâ Sâhib, have reached Olukarai. At nine o'clock, about 4,000 of Chandâ Sâhib's horse reached the bound-hedge. When our people requested Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân to march to Villiyanallûr and those places, he refused to move, as after yesterday's battle, people had come to discuss peace, and preferred to remain even at the risk of his life. So Chandâ Sâhib and the rest departed.' When I was wondering how I could convey this news to the Governor, M. Bussy and others arrived on horse-back and reported what had happened. Immediately the Governor sent 12 soldiers and a sergeant to watch Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's house, and sent

a peon for me. When I went, he said, 'Ranga Pillai, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has deceived us and joined Nâsîr Jang. When our people asked him to march, he refused and told our people to go first. As soon as they had gone, he joined Nâsîr Jang.'—'Is it indeed so?' I asked. He ordered me to send ten peons to watch Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's house. Wishing to have no hand in so troublesome a matter, I told him that head-peon Sântappan was a vigilant guard, and could watch the place with the Company's peons. He sent at once for him and ordered him carefully to watch Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's house. I said to him in the Governor's presence, 'If any should tell you that he has been sent by me, don't listen to him, but strictly carry out the Governor's order.' So saying, I sent him away. Sântappan went with 20 of the Company's peons to Kanakarâya Mudali's house occupied by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, posted them round the house, and himself remained there. As Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's goods are in Muttiya Pillai's house, according to the Governor's orders, I sent for the Nayinâr and told him to send peons to watch the place. It is being guarded accordingly.

The Governor then said, 'When our people were retiring, Nâsîr Jang's army

pursued them and there was a sharp fight. The enemy lost numberless horsemen, foot-soldiers and sardârs; there were some small losses on our side, but our people got away safely. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has deceived and deserted us.'

I then heard that all our troops had arrived, with Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib, Muzaffar Khân, Shaikh Hasan, Shaikh Ibrâhîm, 'Alî Khân and other sardârs, and reached the washers' godown newly built on the Madras road.

The Governor ordered a list to be made of Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's horses, elephants, camels and goods. I then went to the nut-godown.

The Governor drove out to meet M. d'Auteuil. According to his orders, I sent Kôdandarâma Ayyan, Peddu Nâyakkan, and others, to take a list of Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's elephants, horses, camels, etc., wherever they could be found. I stayed at the nut-godown till ten o'clock at night and then came home.

The Governor had a letter written to Nâsîr Jang, put in a bag, and despatched by a harkara this afternoon.

He allowed Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib to come in with ten or fifteen horsemen at midnight. They went to their house.

Peddu Nâyakkan and Kôdandarâma Ayyan made a list of Muzaffar Jang's property as follows :—

Elephants, big and little	... .	16
Camels	... ...	70
Coaches	... ...	26
Carts	... ...	10
Cannon	... ...	12
Rêklas	... ...	4

Monday, April 6.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he ordered me to go to Chandâ Sâhib and ascertain what he had to say, so I went with Madanânda Pandit. He said, 'The Governor was pleased to help me with money, etc.; he sent his army as far as the passes to escort me coming from the northwards, killed my enemy, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and others, helped me to conquer the whole country, and made me great in all ways, whereby the French won unequalled fame for power and valour. But now M. d'Auteuil, the French Commander, refused to march whenever I wished to attack Nâsîr Jang, always saying that he could not meet Nâsîr Jang whose army was like the waves of the sea. So I begged the Governor to order M. d'Auteuil to march and fight whenever I required him to do so. This was done, and when I spoke to M. d'Auteuil about the Governor's orders, and

[1] *28th Panguni, Sukla.*

urged that he should fight and conquer, he agreed. But the day before yesterday, I received news that Morâri Râo, Sânôji Nimbâlakar and other officers were ready to abandon Nâsîr Jang, and that when in his fear of us he had resolved to retire, Mahfuz Khân, Muhammad 'Alî Khân and others restrained him, declaring that he could do nothing more dishonourable after such great preparations. Considering therefore that he remained against his will, I asked M. d'Auteuil to march saying that the time had come to attack, and that he might now capture Nâsîr Jang, owing to his great fear of the French. But he replied that we spoke ignorantly, as the enemy had a great army and he had been obliged to allow his officers to depart as they insisted on returning to Pondichery. Then the Governor sent M. Bury to advise the officers to obey; and M. Bury returned to Pondichery, as they agreed. So I again told M. d'Auteuil that as the officers had agreed to fight, we could now conquer, for Nâsîr Jang was greatly alarmed and that therefore he should not lie quietly in camp but march to battle. He replied that whatever I or the Governor at the fort might say, he could not march with so few men against such numbers. I and Muzaffar Jang told him that he should not speak thus, that no one should shrink from

fighting at the right moment, that the French were unequalled in valour, and that they would conquer the enemy if they attacked them at night. Thus we begged M. d'Auteuil, holding his beard and well nigh falling at his feet. But all our entreaties were in vain. He replied that all his officers had departed to Pondichery, and that he must go too. Thereupon Muzaffar Jang gave up hope and departed to his camp. I begged M. d'Auteuil to remain that night and in the morning let his drums beat for departure wherever he pleased. But he refused and said, once for all, that he must march and that I and Muzaffar Jang could accompany him or stay behind, and desired me to tell Muzaffar Jang. So I went to Muzaffar Jang's camp, and asked him if he intended to depart like the Europeans. He declared that he, the son of an amîr, could not incur the disgrace of running away out of fear, for the Pâdshâh would despise him. I wished to report this to M. d'Auteuil; but he had already departed. They did not march all together; the Europeans scattered in all directions; M. d'Auteuil and a few soldiers went one way, Muzaffar Khân another, and his sepoys a third. Thus they scattered in a moment in all directions. I could not reach Muzaffar Jang's camp; and the Maratha army hindered my going in search of M. d'Auteuil

and the rest. I could not tell what to do; but, putting my trust in God, I marched after the European army with ten horsemen. Wherever we went in the darkness of the night, the Marathas fired at us; and afterwards, losing our way, we were again fired on by them. But contriving to escape, we met a European, who said that our people were ahead. Accordingly I went on and overtook Muzaffar Khân who had ten horsemen with him. I related to him everything and we proceeded together. Shortly after we came up with M. d'Auteuil marching with 100 soldiers and I accompanied him a certain distance. Then the sun rose. The enemy, hearing that we had retired, set out with many officers and men, and surrounded us when we were passing the Urchutu tank. Our people fought well. Mahfuz Khân, the Commander, was killed, Muhammad 'Alî Khân mortally wounded[1], and the son of 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah slightly wounded. As so many officers were killed and wounded, troopers must have fallen by the thousand. We also lost many men. Had our army instead of retreating marched with one-sixteenth of the bravery they showed in this fight, Nâsîr Jang could easily have been

[1] Quite false. But Chandâ Sâhib seems intent upon persuading Ranga Pillai that d'Auteuil would have won if he had fought on the previous day.

captured and the war brought to an end. In the peace talk it was proposed that Muzaffar Jang should keep his jaghirs of Adoni, etc., that I should have Arcot and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Trichinopoly; but I did not agree to this, and demanded Trichinopoly as well. Saiyid Lashkar Khân wrote to me that he would arrange to obtain Trichinopoly and send the grants when they had been drawn up. If our people had not retreated, peace would have been made, and I should have secured the subah; but unhappily, M. d'Auteuil insisted on withdrawing, so Muzaffar Jang who remained behind has been seized and I have been ruined. All our plans have been spoilt by M. d'Auteuil. Report all this to the Governor.' Chandâ Sâhib shed tears of grief as he told me these things. I replied that I could not tell the Governor for he considered that Muzaffar Jang had played us false. Chandâ Sâhib answered, 'Muzaffar Jang is in no way at fault—that should not even be dreamed. Had he meant to join Nâsîr Jang, he would have written to say that he must join his uncle Nâsîr Jang, that he would pay our debts, and that his family should be sent to him from Pondichery. If he had really meant to abandon us, we could not have prevented him. It is no use blaming him for nothing. I will

swear on the Qurân that our affairs were ruined by M. d'Auteuil, not by Muzaffar Jang. Besides M. Bussy and others will confirm what I say. Unless this is explained to the Governor, how can he understand? He must be informed of it.' I replied, 'You are mistaken. By sending you help, he has lost many Europeans, Coffrees and sepoys. He thinks that matters have been spoilt by Muzaffar Jang's treachery; and he will become angry if you tell him otherwise. We should not tell him. But if we speak with caution, he will certainly see that the affair has been mismanaged by M. d'Auteuil.' Chandâ Sâhib answered, 'In that case, let us act according to the Governor's mind.'

I, Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib then went to the Governor's. In the conversation, when Chandâ Sâhib suggested that M. d'Auteuil had spoiled the affair, the Governor grew angry and said, 'Our people are not to blame at all; it was Muzaffar Jang.'—'It may be so,' Chandâ Sâhib replied. The Governor continued, 'You acquit Muzaffar Jang because he is your friend.' Chandâ Sâhib said, 'Negotiations were going on to induce Morâri Râo and Sânôji Nimbâlakar to abandon the enemy; Morâri Râo was to receive the Tadpatri country and Sânôji some lands and money. They were certain to have joined us. Shall I

continue the negotiation?' The Governor approved. Then Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib went to their house and I went to the nut-godown. In the afternoon Madame went to Muzaffar Jang's house, to speak with his wife and the other women. Afterwards the Governor ordered the soldiers and the peons (both the Company's and the Nayinâr's) watching Muzaffar Jang's house to be withdrawn. It was done accordingly.

Tuesday, April 7.[1]—According to the lunar calendar[2], to-day is the first day after the new moon, in the month of Chaitra, of Pramôdûta.

The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if Muhammad 'Alî Khân was really dead as well as Mahfuz Khân. I replied, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân's servant, who was made prisoner, came to 'Abd-ul-rahmân and told him that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had been shot and had fallen from his elephant. 'Abd-ul-rahmân at once stabbed the man. What more proof is needed? Morâri Râo's younger brother, Narasinga Râo, was also shot and fell from his elephant.' When I reported this, the Governor said, 'A Coffree who was near tells

[1] *29th Panguni, Sukla.*

[2] The Hindu calendar includes both lunar and solar months, but in the Tamil country the latter are more commonly used. For their relation to each other, see Dîwân Bahâdûr L. D. Swâmikannu Pillai's *Indian Chronology*, pp. 8, etc.

me that Mahfuz Khân was shot dead, that many guns were fired when the elephant was buried, that he was present at the burial, and that he knew Mahfuz Khân well, as he was present at his capture in the battle of Ambûr. A servant of Nawâb Muzaffar Jang's came and told me yesterday that the son of 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân of Kandanûr, Sânôji Nimbâlakar and others were either killed or wounded. Moreover harkaras told this news to Muzaffar Jang's wife last night when my wife was there; so she made inquiries and reported the news to me. Is what she said false?' I replied, 'It must be true,' and added that Muzaffar Jang's elephants, camels and horses were dying of hunger. He grew angry and said, 'Am I to feed them too? Cannot his wife and mother feed them? Why should they trouble me and make me angry about such a trifle? Send for Hâji Fâzil Khân, their steward.' When I brought him, the Governor said, 'Attend to this matter for two or three days, and I will see to it afterwards.' So saying, he dismissed him. But he replied, 'We have not even a cash. Our property has been pledged with you; so you must be pleased to bear the charges; we cannot.'—'Then you must give money and attend to it,' he said to me.

He then told me to get the ditch cleared of grass. I asked him for passes to show to the gate-people. A pass was accordingly issued and sent by a chobdar and Peddu Nâyakkan.

Then Chandâ Sâhib came to the Governor and said, 'Muhammad Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Sâhib, a great person, son of Dastgîr Sâhib *alias* Pîrzâda, who formerly lived at Mylapore, has come from Morô Pandit with a message that it has been resolved to give me Arcot, and that he had been sent to ascertain my wishes.'

Thursday, April 9.[1]—At seven o'clock this morning, I was on my way to the Governor, when a peon came and called me. He asked if any news had come. I replied I had heard that Nâsîr Jang had halted at Pakkirippâlaiyam near Valudâvûr. I added, 'On Sunday, the 5th, when our army was encamped at Kumblamâttûr, Nâsîr Jang captured Muzaffar Jang at sunrise, and moved to the banks of the Kumblamâttûr river from his former camp about 6 miles off. Nâsîr Jang's darbâr-tent and flag have been moved to Valudâvûr, as he is to encamp there to-day, and he will arrive at ten o'clock this morning. I also hear that he is angry with Muzaffar Jang, says that his deceit has destroyed Muhammad Mahfuz Khân, Muhammad 'Alî Khân and others, and

[1] *31st Panguni, Sukla.*

refuses to see him. He has offered Saiyid Lashkar Khân the subah of Arcot, but the latter has twice declined, in spite of Nâsîr Jang's anger. The English say that they cannot attack Pondichery as peace has been made between them and the French.' The Governor said that my words agreed with the news brought to Madame from Cuddalore by one of her people there. I thought that that was fortunate.

Afterwards a messenger reported that 5,000 horse, four or five cannon and some Englishmen had been sent to capture the fort of Wandiwash. I informed the Governor.

Chandâ Sâhib then brought a forged letter with a Persian translation which (he said) had been shown to no one but Qutb-ud-dîn Khân who is with him. The letter says :—' Nâsîr Jang camped to-day near Khâlif Khân's tope on the bank of the Valudâvûr river. A great person is treating with Nawâb Nâsîr Jang about your affair. By God's grace, this will be settled and you will enjoy peace and happiness. On Sunday your people fought well. Shâh Nawâz Khân has gone to Fort St. David and the battle is inscribed on Nâsîr Jang's heart. Your people's bravery in the fight on Saturday made Nâsîr Jang not only ask how far Gingee was, but also send for Saiyid Lashkar Khân and tell him to settle Muzaffar Jang's affair

and grant to Chandâ Sâhib Arcot and the Carnatic. Saiyid Lashkar Khân wrote that he had sent you word about it and that he would arrive next morning. Then when the matter was to be settled in the morning, and all were to march in pomp to Pondichery, the Europeans, who always stand firm, lost heart and retired. This was caused solely by your ill-fortune. If your people had only stood their ground, the enemy would have yielded you success and themselves have fled. But you encouraged Nâsîr Jang, who had sent his wife beyond Gingee, to fetch her back this morning with his troops and encamp on the banks of the Valudâvûr river. Thus he has regained his courage and despises us. He will camp beside the river between Villiyanallûr and Fort St. David, and send troops in advance in order to attack you. He himself will reach Villiyanallûr in three days. If we watch events and surprise the enemy on a certain night, Nâsîr Jang can easily be captured ; otherwise if you are bold enough you may come out [ ].'

Sunday, April 12.[1]—At six o'clock this morning I heard that the ten sepoys who were watching Muzaffar Jang's house had been withdrawn at seven o'clock last night. As

[1] *3rd Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

soon as the Governor returned from mass, M. Delarche, the Governor, myself and Madanânda Pandit, talked for an hour to the following effect :—Nâsîr Jang feasted with his family in the Valudâvûr fort, the day before yesterday ; 1,25,000 rupees were spread like a seat and Nâsîr Jang was asked to sit on it and eat the feast. Afterwards he was given a lakh of rupees as a present. He is being praised for his victory over Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib and for having made the first a prisoner. He is treating Mîr Asad kindly The Marathas have laid waste and plundered Aurangabad, Hyderabad and other places. But when they wished to plunder Pâlaki[1] which belongs to Nâsîr Jang, the latter's people made an agreement to pay five lakhs of rupees as ransom. I hear the Marathas propose to plunder the town and take possession of it, after they have obtained the five lakhs. Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and Razâ 'Alî Khân have left Vellore to visit Nâsîr Jang. Chandâ Sâhib wrote yesterday that if the subah were not given to him according to his desire, he would never allow him who was appointed in his room to live in peace ; so that the troubles would not cease nor the country prosper. Nâsîr Quli (who came when

[1] There is a place of this name in the Ganjam district (Chicacole taluk) but it is not clear whether this is meant or some other place.

peace was made after the war with Mahfuz Khân) is coming here to-morrow. We have written to him saying that no reply has come yet. Muzaffar Jang is not to blame, but his paymaster Mîr Mukîm Sâhib. We talked about these matters.

Our army camped at Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry this morning; and the Governor said that he would go to inspect it this afternoon.

A peon brought a letter from Aurangabad to Hâji Fâzil (Muzaffar Jang's steward) about the welfare of his family. He said when asked that he had set out a month ago, and that Hakîm Hâji Fâzil had sent him (when Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn and Chandâ Sâhib were before Tanjore with the armies) with money for the expenses of his children at Aurangabad and a letter. When he had paid over the money, he set out a month ago with a reply from Aurangabad. He reached Nâsîr Jang's camp the day before yesterday, but, not finding Hâji Fâzil Khân there, came on here. The Governor sent a peon for Hâji Fâzil Khân, and asked the messenger the news at Aurangabad and those parts. He replied, 'The Maratha armies have plundered, wasted and burnt the whole country. A detachment plundered the country from Hyderabad to the Kistna. Moreover they got

five lakhs of rupees from the people of Pâlaki which is Nâsîr Jang's, but are still lingering there with intent to plunder it, and capture the fort. There are 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 sepoys at Aurangabad but there are no other troops from there up to the Kistna, and Nâsîr Jang took with him many country horse.' He was then asked how the talk ran in Nâsîr Jang's camp. He replied, 'Nâsîr Jang is very fortunate. In the battle that lasted the whole of last Saturday, his howdah was struck by a shot and his elephant-driver wounded. Thereupon he resolved to march next day to Gingee and ordered Saiyid Lashkar Khân to issue grants according to your desire and to direct the gumastahs to write out parwânas restoring Arcot to Chandâ Sâhib and Adoni and the other countries to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. But as your army retired that night, Nâsîr Jang grew proud and ceased to think of running away. He is now resolved to depart only after settling the Arcot affair, and to take with him Muzaffar Jang's mother and wife. He is much troubled by the condition of the north and the approach of the rains. He is anxious to depart ; and will not remain more than a fortnight after matters are settled.' The Governor then said, 'What has become of the Pâdshâh's forces which I heard had been sent ?' He replied, 'As the rains are approach-

ing, the Pâdshâh has gone to Shâhjahanabad ; but his vizier, Mansûr 'Alî Khân, will remain at Jimapur, his country, for the rains and thereafter join him.'

Then Hâji Fâzil Khân arrived. He opened the bag and read the four letters addressed to him of the fifteen letters it contained. He gave them to Madanânda Pandit, saying that they only referred to private matters. Madanânda Pandit said that it was so.

The Governor then said to Hâji Fâzil Khân :—'I hear that the day before yesterday, Muzaffar Jang accompanied Nâsîr Jang on an elephant ; and when they passed the toll gate, Nâsîr Jang ordered the curtain-covering to be drawn back and had a fan given him on account of heat, and that a robe was given him as soon as he reached the tent. Is this true ?' He replied, 'It is false. He was carried in a covered palankin bound and guarded by 500 men so that nobody could speak with him.' The Governor said, 'My news came from Chandâ Sâhib's son who was here yesterday.' As he was going away, the Governor said, 'Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has been betrayed by the Bakhshî, who is intriguing with Nâsîr Jang.' He answered, 'That dog is not worth a cash ; what can he do ? All this happened because your people left us.' Thereupon the Governor dismissed him and went

to bed. I went to the nut-godown and Fâzil Khân to his house.

At three o'clock this afternoon Chandâ Sâhib's son Razâ Sâhib and Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân went to the Governor and said, 'Nâsîr Jang sent last night for Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and granted Arcot to him. Mîr Asad has been appointed Dîwân. S'aadat-ul-lah Khân used to pay the Nizâm 12 lakhs of rupees a year. Then Anwar-ud-dîn Khân agreed to pay 24 lakhs, and Mahfuz Khân 28 [lakhs] of rupees; and now Mîr Asad and Murtazâ 'Alî Khân have agreed to pay 50 lakhs of rupees; it has also been decided to send cavalry to Wandiwash to seize the fort and deliver it to Mîr Asad. This last boasted to Nâsîr Jang that he could entice away the sepoys in the fort at Pondichery, and that Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Jang's mother who are here would be given up if the fort were blockaded. But Nâsîr Jang, being afraid of the European troops, complained that he had been deceived by those who advised him to come. His bowels were convulsed with fear; and all he desired was an opportunity to give up the country to his enemies and make peace with them, when your people retired and so restored his hopes. But quite a different fear will seize him if your army marches out again. He would be convulsed with terror if they

advanced but a league; and then I could settle affairs to your satisfaction. The Europeans need not even fight; all that is needed is to remove the belief that they are hiding in a corner; and that will be done once the news goes out that your men have taken the field. Then I can discuss your affairs successfully. Therefore let your army march without delay. Moreover Mîr Asad says (it is written) that he can deceive our army and make the sepoys desert. This may be Muzaffar Khân's doing. All things will prosper if you will but order your army to march and so silence those who say that our army fled and hid itself in fear and will never dare come out again.' When I reported this to the Governor, he told me to desire Chandâ Sâhib's son and Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân to write as follows:—'Our troops marched to-day. It was thought that peace would be made; but as there seems no hope of that, they have marched. We cannot request the Governor Sâhib not to send his troops. It cannot be told what evils will come to pass. As the troops have marched, you can discuss everything there.' He afterwards sent for me and Madanânda Pandit and ordered a letter to be written to Nâsîr Jang as follows:—'(After the usual compliments) I wrote you two letters, but you have neither answered them nor returned the peons. Two

of your chief messengers came here on Thursday, and said that you desired peace and that you would return to your country as soon as affairs here had been settled and before the rains set in. I told them that I also desired peace and had written to you but that you had not answered, and that I was prepared for peace or war just as you should choose. Though the two messengers were unworthy to stand before me, yet I spoke with them out of respect for you. They excused your delay, and departed saying that I and you were of the same mind and that on their return they would desire you to write to me. I have waited till now, but no reply has arrived. Moreover your troops have plundered my villages and molested my people. To-day therefore I have determined to send out my troops, as you are resolved on war. Do not suppose that I am fighting now for Muzaffar Jang or Chandâ Sâhib. You and I are enemies and they have nothing to do with it. I shall come and you also must make ready.' I wrote accordingly; and he ordered me to send the letter to Nâsîr Jang by Chobdar Muhammad Ḥusain. I gave it to him personally at six o'clock this evening, and he set out with two peons.

One Gôpâla Ayyan, a Brâhman of Devanâmpattanam who had accompanied the tent

and presents sent to Nâsîr Jang, arrived in a palankin at seven o'clock to-night with ten peons, and letters to the Governor and M. d'Auteuil from Major Lawrence who with others commands in Nâsîr Jang's camp on behalf of the Governor of Fort St. David. The Governor received the letter, but would not see Gôpâla Ayyan and made him wait outside. He then called me and said, 'Major Lawrence, who is at Nâsîr Jang's camp, has written to me and to M. d'Auteuil with compliments, saying that, if I please, he will arrange with the help of the English at Nâsîr Jang's camp to make peace between us and Nâsîr Jang. What do you think of the English thus interfering in this affair?' I replied, 'I will say plainly what I think, if you will forgive me should my words give offence.' He said, 'Don't be so formal, but speak out.' Thereupon I said, that it would be better to treat for peace by a load-carrying cooly than the English. 'Why so?' he asked. I replied, 'When Nâsîr Jang set out from Aurangabad, his bowels were convulsed with fear of you, so that his head and heart were troubled. In every letter, he wrote that he would exceed all their[1] offers, and that we should abandon their friendship and join him.

[1] *i.e.*, Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Jang.

Moreover he desired M. le Verrier through the Nawâb of Surat, M. Coquet of Masulipatam, Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân (subahdar of those parts) and others to write to you; and he has himself written a host of letters to you. Then his good luck delivered him of his fear, for the officers of our army withdrew so that M. d'Auteuil had to retire because he could do nothing without soldiers, and Muzaffar Jang deserted us on the advice of his paymaster who also got rid of his elephants, horses and troops by telling them that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân had gone to Pondichery. Moreover [Mîr] Muhammad went to Nâsîr Jang himself, and said that Muzaffar Jang only had 400 horsemen, that our army and Chandâ Sâhib's had retired, and that Muzaffar Jang was alone. Thereupon Shâh Nawâz Khân was sent to bring Muzaffar Jang; and only after the latter was imprisoned, did Nâsîr Jang resolve not to run away but to remain near Pondichery. Although the English, Mîr Asad, Mahfuz Khân and others knew by experience that they could not exaggerate the strength of our artillery, yet they spoke slightingly of it to Nâsîr Jang. But they could not remove Nâsîr Jang's fear and he still was resolved on flight. Although for the time he had to do as they advised, yet he still feared, owing to the heavy losses inflicted on his troops by our army in

its retreat. So when he heard that our army, which had lain quiet at Pondichery till now, had marched to-day, he sent for the English and told them that they must fight, and play the same part as before. They must have answered that they had fought against Muzaffar Jang's and Chandâ Sâhib's enemies ; but that they could not attack the French in their fort because they were at peace with the English. Nâsîr Jang must have replied that he could not depart, having come so far. Perhaps they may then have offered to make peace between us and him and have written to you. As the English induced Nâsîr Jang to come with promises of their assistance, and as they cannot give the help they promised, they want at least to satisfy him with words, and make men think that they have made peace between us and him. They then could write to Europe saying that, if they had not done so, Nâsîr Jang would never have given up the idea of capturing Pondichery. They would say the same here. So, as your good fortune will bring you success that will shine throughout the country, it is not advisable to do as they say.' When I thus explained matters to him as well as I could, he agreed and asked me to write to Nâsîr Jang as follows :—'The English have written to me saying that you have desired them to mediate

a peace. But I will never accept their mediation. However if you will tell those who are with you that you do not wish their interference, I will send two Marathas to you.' This severe letter was written out in proper terms, sealed, and despatched at nine o'clock by his old chobdar's son. He took it and set out, after which I went to the nut-godown.

The Governor sent me word by Appu that I was to mock Gôpâla Ayyan, the English Brâhman, for having brought a letter which might as well have been brought by a cooly. I sent for Gôpâla Ayyan, told him (with additions of my own) what the Governor had said, with less respect than would have been paid to a cooly, gave him Mr. Lawrence's letter with a gate-pass, and desired him to depart at once. He received the letter and took his leave, saying that he would set out tomorrow morning. When I had informed the Governor of this, the Second and M. Friell went home at half-past eleven, and I did the same.

Wednesday, April 15.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and asked how Nâsîr Jang's camp was being supplied with fuel and leaves. He added that they would soon depart. I replied, 'Firewood is being brought from places ten leagues distant. A man's

[1] *6th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

load of straw costs a rupee here, but one and a half or two rupees there. I hear also that they complain of a lack of water.'—'In that case,' he said, 'there will be a pestilence.' I observed that either fevers or some other disease would weaken them. He agreed.

He then asked if the present rain would do any good. I replied, 'It will permit ploughing the land for cumbu. But the whole country has been laid waste by Nâsîr Jang's troops; and the plundering Maratha horse carried off the bullocks and cows, and all that the cultivators had in their houses, even the thatch, poles and timbers, leaving only the bare walls. So how can there be any cultivation? How long did the country take to attain to its recent prosperity, and how long will it take to regain it?' He said, 'Their army will retreat to-morrow. Won't there be time then?' I replied, 'What is the use of time if the ryots have not the means of cultivation?'—'The people of the out-villages,' he said, 'have not suffered, because Muzaffar Jang's and Chandâ Sâhib's troops were encamped within the bound-hedge, so they have the means of cultivation and will have a good harvest if they cultivate their lands.' I agreed.

Then the Corporal of the North Gate came and said that the English dubâsh who had come from Nâsîr Jang's camp had been waiting

since yesterday evening with letters. The Governor said he could be brought. Gôpâla Ayyan, the dubâsh, came with letters from Fort St. David Council to the Pondichery Council and from Major Lawrence at Nâsîr Jang's camp to the Governor. In the presence of me and Madanânda Pandit, the Governor ordered Gôpâla Ayyan to wait outside, so as to make it appear that the English desired a correspondence which he disliked; afterwards he ordered the letters to be brought, asked why he had been sent back in such haste, and, admitting him, inquired why he had stayed outside the town last night when he arrived. He said he had waited outside by order of the gate-people. The Governor ordered him to return at once, saying that he would send a reply by his own people. The dubâsh replied, 'I waited outside the gate last night, without food, drenched in the rain, and without sleep. I cannot go without food, so I will eat and then depart.' The Governor permitted this.

He then sent the letters to be translated. After reading them, he wrote replies to the Fort St. David Council and Major Lawrence, put them in one cover, addressed to Mr. Lawrence at Nâsîr Jang's camp, and gave them to me to be despatched by the dubâsh. I sent them by Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti to the Brâhman who was in the Brâhman Street.

Mr. Cope formerly wrote to M. d'Auteuil that the English were willing to treat for peace. We replied agreeing, and then Mr. Lawrence's letter came by dubâsh Gôpâla Ayyan. Now a letter has come from the Fort St. David Council to the Pondichery Council offering their mediation with Nâsîr Jang and the Governor has sent an answer. As the proverbs say, 'Serve the hasty man his food on a leaf, and me mine on the floor' and 'A blind horse can't be blamed for stumbling'; so I think he will agree. Letters are being received and sent about what should be done. But it would be less disreputable to use a sweeper's mediation. The Governor and others think as I do; but fate cannot be avoided. A man's actions are decided by destiny. Have not the wise said, 'Destiny overrules wisdom?' What must be will be. Regrets are useless.

At one o'clock this afternoon, I interpreted to the Governor the letter brought by Muhammad Razâ Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib's son, as follows: 'As soon as your troops marched, Nâsîr Jang was seized with fear and said that you meant to surprise him at night. He lay awake the whole night for fear he or Muzaffar Jang should be carried off. His tent was guarded all round by musketeers, grenadiers and artillery people, and 10,000 horsemen were

posted as far as Perumbai to keep watch all night long. Shâh Nawâz Khân has been ordered to answer that your letter was not written in the proper forms, but if you write properly, they will give you Arcot and depart. When you write to Shâh Nawâz Khân, write also to Nâsîr Jang as follows :—"Our troops have marched out and the time has come when you must decide. I will readily consent if you choose peace and write about it." Muzaffar Jang is being treated harshly in prison. Mîr Asad and others say that they will not leave one stone upon another in Pondichery. As the Marathas are laying waste Aurangabad, Hyderabad and other places, and as the rainy season will begin shortly, Nâsîr Jang is resolved to march northwards.'

This letter was read and interpreted to the Governor. He observed, 'Altogether six letters with the usual compliments, have been sent to Nâsîr Jang but no reply has been received. Write now that our troops have marched and that I do not mind whether he is for war or peace.' He then told Chandâ Sâhib's son that he might go, that a letter would be written to Nâsîr Jang as desired and that a reply would be sent to Shâh Nawâz Khân on receipt of his letter. So he took leave and departed.

Nâsîr Jang's letter was written and sealed.

Afterwards my chobdar brought me Shâh Nawâz Khân's letter. Manian and two other Company's peons also came with him. I interpreted the letter as follows :—'Your letter to Nâsîr Jang was not politely written. Even the Sultân of Rûm and Ahmad Shâh Pâdshâh write very politely to Nâsîr Jang. When Nâdir Shâh invaded the country, seized Muhammad Shâh Pâdshâh and plundered Delhi, Muhammad Shâh Pâdshâh was still treated with the usual respect. How great the difference between you, the master of one seaport, and Nâsîr Jang who is the Pâdshâh's Deputy throughout the Deccan! Should you not therefore treat him with due reverence? He has ever treated you with respect; but now you have been brought to ruin by the ill advice of others. We have captured Muzaffar Jang, the Nawâb's relative who went astray. If you had only sent us his family whom you have treated honourably, you would have been more esteemed than ever. As your former letters were not politely written, I did not think fit to communicate them to Nâsîr Jang; but your last letter is different; I shall show it to him and send his reply.'

When I reported this, he told me to reply to Shâh Nawâz Khân as follows :—'I know but two Pâdshâhs—the King of France and Ahmad Shâh Pâdshâh of Delhi. Deem not

lightly of the Pâdshâh of France; but know that he is the greatest of all the kings of Europe. I know that Nâsîr Jang is Ahmad Shâh Pâdshâh's Deputy in these parts. I likewise rule this place as Pâdshâh's Deputy, with high rank. Our dignity is known to our respective Pâdshâhs. Yet I have not treated him disrespectfully in either thought or deed. It is ten years since I came here; and all that time I have written to him with as much respect as I showed to his father; nor will I do otherwise. I now send a letter to Nâsîr Jang. Give it to him and be pleased to send a reply. I will act as he says and not otherwise. Your former letter was written instructing me as though I were a boy. Read this with care and you will understand it rightly. Regarding Muzaffar Jang's family, be sure the Pâdshâh's whole army could not take them, were it to come hither.' I gave Chobdar Muhammad Husain, Nâsîr Jang's and Shâh Nawâz Khân's letters according to the Governor's order. He received them, and, taking leave of the Governor, departed. The Governor drove out, and I went to the nut-godown.

I hear that Madame Dupleix asked the Chobdar Manian, the old man's son who brought Shâh Nawâz Khân's letter, and the Company's peons, if they had seen Nâsîr Jang

They replied, 'He never stirs out. Only great men like Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Nawâz Khân and others, five or six in all, are admitted to his presence. Not one of the subahdars of Arcot, Cuddapah, etc., or the 400 or 500 killedars is allowed to see him. If the great men in his camp only see him with difficulty, how could we see him?' Madame said, 'Ranga Pillai is intriguing with Nâsîr Jang and making difficulties. I will stab him. At the least he shall be imprisoned and beaten. My husband is stupid, and Ranga Pillai blinds him with a few cash while he plunders the whole town.' I hear that she spoke thus contemptuously of me to Chobdar Manian and the Company's peons. I could prove everything, if the Governor would only enquire into the evil deeds done in the town to the Company's ruin and the town's loss; but no one will enquire unless (as I pray) God enquire some day, when it will be seen what He will do.

Thursday, April 16.[1]—I hear that Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Saiyid Sharîf Khân, Sânôji Nimbâlakar and other great men addressed Nâsîr Jang as follows :—'Even if you succeed in carrying off Muzaffar Jang who has fallen into your hands, without giving Chandâ Sâhib the subah or satisfying the French, this will

[1] *7th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

amount to nothing. How can our horse and foot, who fear artillery, resist the French who defeated the English with ease even when they had, with 50 or 60 ships, hindered grain from being brought by sea for a whole year, and when they rained a storm of fire on Pondichery for two months from 100 ships at sea, with great store of artillery and 20,000 men, to the astonishment of the Europeans? Moreover the English have departed saying that they cannot fight against the French on account of the treaty between them. If we besiege the town even for six or seven months, the French will get provisions by sea, and so hold out, even for 24 years. Nor is this a matter worth fighting over for a year or two till we succeed. Chandâ Sâhib, though one of our people, intrigued with the French, and so Anwar-ud-dîn was slain and his country seized; you came here to punish them. You have fought and they have fled. The head of your enemies has been captured, so that the fame of your victory will spread to Delhi. But you must forgive your sister's son for his faults as you would your own son, so, if you are unwilling to give the Arcot subah to Chandâ Sâhib after your victory, you should give it to Muzaffar Jang, make friends with the French, and then depart after delivering Muzaffar Jang to them. Or you need have no dealings

at all with the French. Give a dress of honour to Muzaffar Jang for the country, and make a treaty with him for the payment of tribute. If after this we depart, the Pâdshâh, his viziers and all spectators will praise you for your victory and you will earn renown for forgiving the wicked and restoring them to rule when they fall at your feet. That will be more glorious even than capturing Pondichery, and returning with Muzaffar Jang's mother and children and Chandâ Sâhib as your prisoners. Otherwise, you may abandon Aurangabad, Hyderabad, etc., the six subahs of the Deccan, and remain here with your army for the sake of Arcot. But if you do not care to settle this country, and cross the Kistna, Chandâ Sâhib will return with the Europeans, fight with the Subahdar of Arcot, and make every effort to prevent him from enjoying the country. You will then have to return hither and will be accused of entrusting the Nizâm's daughter to Europeans; and this slander will be written and read in every place as far as Delhi. So you will earn not glory but shame; whereas if you make Muzaffar Jang fall at your feet and grant him the subah, your glory will shine like the sun.' When they addressed him thus, he resolved to give Muzaffar Jang a dress of honour on Friday night or Saturday.

He hoisted the flag of peace for three days; and Muzaffar Jang's army, bazaars, merchants and others departed to that place [the camp ?]. It was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's army and all the Carnatic people should march; but when some had gone and some were departing, it was proclaimed yesterday that they should not go but that their pay would be delivered to them. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's flag was hoisted and the army ordered to keep his flag as usual. When I heard this, I asked Muzaffar Jang's steward, Hâji Fâzil Khân, if this were true. He said that it was, and added, 'If Muzaffar Jang gets Arcot he will give it to whom he pleases. I hear that Chandâ Sâhib threatens, if he does not get Arcot, to persuade M. Dupleix, the Governor, to attack Muzaffar Jang and seize it by force. The Governor and Muzaffar Jang are as sons to me; but who is Chandâ Sâhib? Please tell the Governor Sâhib and explain all things to him.' When I reported this, the Governor asked Dôst Muhammad, a lubbay, if this was true. He said that he had already told him he had heard so. Thereupon he said, 'God grant it prove true.' He frowned as though grieved that the matter were not already settled and seemed plunged in thought. I went to the nut-godown at ten o'clock. When the Governor sent for me in the evening

and questioned me, I told him that there was no news, and returned to the nut-godown.

Those who have come from camp say that Nâsîr Jang has resolved to give Arcot to Muzaffar Jang, instead of Chandâ Sâhib.

Friday, April 17.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked why Muttu Mallâ Reddi had not paid his debt yet, although the various kinds of pagodas and gold jewels which were buried had long been coined at the Mint. I replied, 'The pagodas first coined have been taken by M. Le Maire for the Company's dues and what was coined afterwards, was paid four or five days ago; and I will bring it now.' As I had it ready at the nut-godown, I told Venkatâchalam to fetch it. 4,000 pagodas were in four bags sealed with the shroff's seal; they were opened before the Governor. I further counted out 476 pagodas, 3 fanams and 40 cash. He entered 4,476 pagodas and 3 fanams in the account, and put them and the money in the southern room.

He returned and asked where Muttu Mallâ Reddi's younger brother was. I replied that he was at Perumukkal, eagerly expecting Nâsîr Jangs's departure, and praying that God would give the French Arcot and him Tindivanam. He then asked where Muttu Mallâ Reddi

8th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.

was. I replied, 'He is at Orattippâlaiyam. He once attacked our people who were managing Tindivanam, carried off some paddy, but fled when our sepoys and Topasses guarding the place opened fire. I have already reported this. On Sunday, April 5, when our army retired hither from Valudâvûr, you told me to recall the amaldâr, Topasses and sepoys. After that, he tried in vain to seize his younger brother, Muttu Bôlam Reddi, at Perumukkal. Miyân Sâhib, the killedar, in great anger descended from the Sâyal hills with guns and prepared to march against Muttu Mallâ Reddi, whereon the latter fled to Oratti and is now ruling the Tindivanam and Achcharapâkkam countries and collecting their revenues.'—'God will punish him suitably,' he replied.

He then asked what news there was from Nâsîr Jang's camp. I replied, 'Chandâ Sâhib sent me word that Nâsîr Jang had written desiring you to send two ambassadors and that Shâh Nawâz Khân had been ordered to write to you himself. Orders have been given to the keeper of the seal, and the letters will come to-morrow.' He asked if they might not come to-day. I replied, 'To-day is Friday, and there will be no darbâr. The letter may be issued to-night and come to-morrow.'

He then asked at what price I had sold my paddy. I replied that I was offering it at

4¾ measures. He said, 'At the time of the disturbances, six garse of paddy was sent up from Kârikâl and I shall order it to be sold at five measures. How much will that be *per* garse?' I said, '50 pagodas.' He sent for M. Cornet at once and ordered him to sell it to the poor, not more than 2 fanams' worth at a time, at five measures. He agreed and went away.

The Olukarai cultivators who brought a letter from M. d'Auteuil complained that the Mahé sepoys had cut the crops to feed their horses with. Thereupon he sent for me and asked me to tell the ryots to make out a statement of their losses. I told the ryots and dismissed them.

At eleven o'clock he questioned me about Muzaffar Jang. I replied, 'All say he will receive the khilat to-night or to-morrow; his people have received the same news. Their nature is to conceal news, but as they announce this openly, it must be true.' He agreed, and then dismissed me as though wishing to go to sleep. I went to the nut-godown.

At six o'clock, he sent for me and asked if any news had come. I replied, 'Morâri Râo is marching home in anger, having received only 25,000 rupees of what was promised. Râjâ Chandrasênan, son of a Maratha sardâr, is determined to depart, whether

allowed to or not, as his countries, Nârâyana-pêttai [ ][1] are being plundered by Raghôji Bhônsla's army. Dôsti, 'Abd-ul-rahmân's dubâsh, says that sepoys from the camp declare that they have already departed.' We then spoke of the likelihood of Nâsîr Jang's departure owing to the rains and the Maratha raids, and as the mansabdars and other great men who came with Nâsîr Jang were pressing him to give them leave to return to their jaghirs. Presently he gave me leave and I went to the nut-godown.

At eight o'clock he sent for me and asked why the rest of the Kârikâl and Yânâm cloth had not been given to the washers. I replied, 'Owing to the encampment of the troops, the water has been thick and muddy. They have been conjeed once, but the washing was not satisfactory, so it was stopped. The enemy have now retired; our own people who were encamped at the washing-place have moved to Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry; and it is raining; so I will have the cloth ready in two days.' He said, 'Until they are baled, the two Beach accounts cannot be made up. Get them ready soon.' I agreed. The Second said, 'The cloth can be got ready as soon as the water clears. Send the torn cloth[2] to the hospital."

1 Blank in original.
2 A certain amount of cloth was always torn in washing.

I replied that the writer in the Fort warehouse had removed some pieces to-day by M. Cornet's orders. I then went to the nut-godown. It rained to-night.

Saturday, April 18.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he asked me what news there was. I replied, 'It is true, as I told you, that Morâri Râo, Sânôji Nimbâlakar, Râjâ Chandrasênan and other Maratha sardârs have departed with their troops. Morâri Râo has received only 25,000 rupees instead of what was promised and has gone to Shaikhabad. I hear that the other sardârs have gone because their countries were being plundered and the rains were drawing near; but I am not sure if they have not been sent in advance of his own march.' He replied, 'It is usual to send large divisions in advance of the main army; the Maratha troops arrived a fortnight before he arrived. I think it is the same now.' We agreed that the present rains would inconvenience Nâsîr Jang's camp. I then went to the nut-godown.

At one o'clock this afternoon, Chobdar Muhammad Husain brought Nâsîr Jang's and Shâh Nawâz Khân's letters. The Governor sent for me at once and told me to interpret

[1] 9th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.

them. I gave them to Madanânda Pandit who read out Nâsîr Jang's letter as follows :—

'To the Governor-General Sâhib of Pondichery, whose hands are full of strength, greeting. I have read your letter and rejoice at such a favour from your glory. You say that you are sending two of your chief people, intelligent, honest, and able to give fit answers, knowing my greatness, and that you will not arrange terms with any but me because you know me. This gives me great joy. Accordingly lay aside your distrust and believe this letter. Send to me therefore proper people, empowered to make peace, such as are fit to appear before me, the Pâdshâh, and conduct themselves with due respect. Let them address themselves to Shâh Nawâz Khân.'

He then asked me to interpret Shâh Nawâz Khân's letter, which was as follows, after the usual compliments :—'I have read your letter and also read to His Highness Nizâm-ud-daulah the contents of your letter to him. He has been pleased to send you a reply. Act accordingly and send your ambassadors. You wrote that the Pâdshâh's whole army (were it to come) could not secure even a sight of Muzaffar Jang's family. But what do we want with them? We have him who is useful to us and we need no more. Surely you were unwise to write that we cannot appoint any-

one to the subah of Arcot without your consent. A wise man would not have written so. What have you to do with our countries? Write to me of your welfare, and remember that Nâsîr Jang is the Pâdshâh of the Deccan.'

When I reported this to him, he said, 'Very well; read Nâsîr Jang's letter to M. Delarche and M. du Bausset when they come.' So saying, he sent for them. Before they came, he told me to write to Nâsîr Jang and Shâh Nawâz Khân.

Nâsîr Jang's letter was as follows:—'I have read your letter desiring me to trust you and send proper persons.' Accordingly I send M. du Bausset who saw you when he visited His Excellency Nawâb Âsaf Jâh; he is well-known to you, and was one of the few able to conduct himself suitably to your father's dignity so as to win his favour.[1] I send with him one who knows Persian well,[2] is fit to appear before you, and satisfy you with his words. Reposing all trust in you, I send these to Shâh Nawâz Khân, to whom they will explain everything.' When I had written this, he ordered me to write to Shâh Nawâz Khân as follows:—'I have learnt all things from your letter and His Highness Nizâm-

[1] Du Bausset had been one of the embassy sent from Pondichery to Nizâm-ul-mulk, when he besieged Trichinopoly in 1743.

[2] *i.e.*, Delarche.

ud-daulah's. Nâsir Jang's letter asks me to lay aside distrust, believe his words, and send ambassadors. As you wrote also to the same purpose, I send you M. du Bausset and M. Delarche. They are honest, clever, and men of repute. They know how to behave suitably to His Highness's dignity. So treat them with respect, introduce them to His Highness, and despatch them when their business is finished.' He then asked me to write to Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Sânôji Nimbâlakar and a mansabdar of 4,000 horse as follows :—'I have heard that you are well-wishers to your master and his people and that you are great men of high nature. My intention is the same as yours, and I hoped to settle this affair through you; but as His Highness Nizâm-ud-daulah has desired me to send my people to Shâh Nawâz Khân, I have sent them to him. All things will be explained to you by the Turk Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah. The gentlemen I have sent are M. du Bausset and M. Delarche. You will know their greatness when they speak to you.' I wrote these five letters with the usual compliments, and read them to the Governor, who listened joyfully and ordered them to be sealed and the copies to be read to M. Delarche. Then he and M. du Bausset came, and approved of the letters when they were read to them. The Governor

then turned to them and said that Nâsîr Jang had asked for people to be sent; and they agreed to go. Thereon he asked for Nâsîr Jang's letter. I gave it to him. He asked M. Delarche to read it. But he replied that he could not read but only speak Persian. The Governor was surprised and asked Madanânda Pandit to read it. Afterwards M. Delarche told the Governor that the letters were suitable, and took Nâsîr Jang's letter, saying that he would keep it. The Governor asked him his opinion of the letters about the despatch of the ambassadors. He said they were good. 'Then,' the Governor said, 'put them in bags, seal and keep them ready.' He then said to M. Delarche and M. du Bausset, 'Set out to-morrow morning after mass; half an hour before day-break, get all things ready; come this evening, and I will tell you what you must do.' So saying, he dismissed them.

The Governor then summoned Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah, the Turk who speaks several languages, and has been going here and there for Saiyid Lashkar Khân. He has been living here in a room in the Governor's kitchen in order to be cured of his disease. After talking with him, the Governor asked him to accompany M. du Bausset and M. Delarche. He told me to prepare a palankin and bearers for him and to send with M. du Bausset 50 sepoy musketeers

and 10 horsemen with pistols, a tent, etc., and camels to carry the goods. I said I would do so. He told me to ask the old catechist Seguniyâ Pillai to go with him. I said I would send for him, and suggested that Vakîl Subbayyan might be sent to read Persian. He agreed. I then sent for the agent who is with Shaikh Ibrâhîm and who used to be with M. Barthélemy at Madras, and told him to get all things ready, and deliver them to M. du Bausset and M. Delarche. I ordered Saiyid Budan, a sepoy havildar [?], to go with Vakîl Subbayyan. The Governor then drove out; and I and Madanânda Pandit went to the nut-godown.

M. du Bausset and M. Delarche came to the Governor's house when I was there at six o'clock this evening. He called me and asked if I had arranged for everything to be despatched with them. I replied, 'I have ordered jemadar [?] Saiyid Budan to take his food and be at Valudâvûr gate at ten o'clock to-night with ten horsemen and fifty sepoys. I also ordered Parasurâma Pillai to accompany them and the Arumpâtai's man with all necessaries. He has seen M. du Bausset, and I have delivered to them the camels, tent, etc., sent the agent who knows Persian, Subbayyan and Seguni to M. du Bausset, and arranged for the palankin and bearers for Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah.

Of the five letters only Nâsîr Jang's has been put in a bag, and those to Shâh Nawâz Khân, Sânôji Nimbâlakar and others have not.' He told me to give them to M. Delarche, which I did.

The Governor told them what they must do and gave them 21 gold mohurs to present as a nazar. They said that, if they had 22, each could give 11. The Governor replied that I had said that 21 were enough. I observed that, if they gave only one nazar, 21 would be enough, but that they should have one more if they were to give a nazar each; so he gave them another mohur. Thus they received in all 22 mohurs.

The Governor then sent them to ascertain Chandâ Sâhib's opinion; they returned and reported what Chandâ Sâhib had said. When they were about to set out, Mîr A'azam came and said that the Nawâb Sâhib had asked him to request that Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân should be sent with them. 'Very well,' the Governor said, 'but let him appear to be our man, not Chandâ Sâhib's.' He replied, 'He shall do so; I have arranged secretly with the several gumastahs to speak on their behalf.' The Governor's consent was but half-hearted, and he added, 'Let him get ready and come here as they will start at half-past four to-morrow morning.' He then dismissed Mîr A'azam. M. du Bausset and the others took

leave and went home. I and Madanânda Pandit went to the nut-godown.

Sunday, April 19.[1]—At half-past five this morning, M. du Bausset, M. Delarche and Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah set out after hearing mass at the Mission Church.[2] I met them in the street, and M. du Bausset saluted me. I wished him a prosperous journey. Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah did the same, and I returned his compliment. As I stood aside, M. Delarche took off his hat, and offered his compliments which I also returned; then they set out. There were M. du Bausset, M. Delarche, Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah, each in a palankin, followed by Vakîl Subbayyan, Seguniyâ Pillai, the Persian writer, and Saiyid Budan, the jemadar, with 50 sepoys and 10 horsemen.

When the Governor returned from mass at eight o'clock, he sent for me and asked at what time M. du Bausset and others had started. I said that they had heard mass at the Mission Church at five o'clock and started at six. He then asked who had gone. I replied, 'M. du Bausset, M. Delarche, Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah, the Turk from Constantinople who was in Saiyid Lashkar Khân's service and came here to get his disease cured, Chandâ Sâhib's Dîwân

[1] *10th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

[2] I do not know whether this is intentional, or only a loose use of words by the diarist. Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah was doubtless cosmopolitan in experience, and had been formerly baptized, but probably did not attend Christian places of worship.

Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân, Saiyid Budan, havildar [?], fifty sepoys, ten horsemen, Vakîl Subbayyan and twenty-four of his peons, the Persian writer Seguniyâ Pillai and two Company's chobdars who serve under them—all these went together. Periyanna Mudali (M. du Bausset's dubâsh), M. Delarche's Palli dubâsh, and one of the Arumpâtai's men with the provisions walked behind and reached Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry intending to proceed after assembling there.' He then asked how I thought the matter would end. I replied, 'The result will be this :—As you have God's favour, and as you commonly suffer trouble first and then enjoy ten times as much prosperity as before, you are now troubled, but, according to your desire, Chandâ Sâhib will receive the country, and the Company will receive four times as much as is now assigned to it. By God's blessing you and Nâsîr Jang will become friends and Arcot and the country this side of the Kistna will obey you.' I then reminded him about what had happened with the English, the capture of Madras, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's actions and death, the conquest of Arcot, and other matters; and I added, 'If Nâsîr Jang does not make friends, some evil will befall him, and thereby the Arcot country will be managed through you, the Company will get greater jaghirs, and you will prosper. You may depend upon

this. As Nâsîr Jang is your enemy, he will fall into difficulties even though he makes peace with you and departs; and Muzaffar Jang will surely prosper.'—'Is this what your astrologers say?' he asked.—'You may think what you please,' I said, 'but what I say will come to pass. Have any of my predictions till now proved false?' He smiled at this.

He then called M. Bury and asked him to bring from his house the cross sent for M. Puymorin [?], along with that for the Governor. As he was at Kârikâl when M. de La Touche and M. Dancy received theirs, it was decided to-day to send for him and give it him. So the Governor ordered it and the King's letters to be brought from his house so that the cross might be presented before the Councillors, captains and officers. M. Bury was therefore asked to sit down and M. Puymorin [?] knelt opposite him with folded arms. When the great King's letters patent had been read aloud, M. Bury rose, embraced and kissed him, and touched him thrice on the shoulder and once on the face with his sword. He then took off his hat, saluted him, and gave him the cross of St. Louis. He fastened it on his coat with the red ribbon, and, when he had embraced and kissed M. Bury, he saluted the Governor. After the latter had embraced and kissed him, the others did the same in succession and they all congratulated him.

Shâh Nawâz Khân has sent a letter from Nâsîr Jang's camp by four harkaras saying, 'I send four harkaras to escort the ambassadors without hindrance through the several toll-places; let them be sent back with your ambassadors.' When I reported that Shâh Nawâz Khân had written thus with compliments, he ordered me to write a reply and send it by the harkaras, giving them four rupees. I did accordingly.

At six o'clock this evening, the Governor sent for me and said, 'I hear that there are on the banks of Ûshtu tank six or seven hundred cows and bullocks and four camels belonging to Nâsîr Jang, and that our sepoys have driven them off. M. d'Auteuil has also written to the same effect.' I replied, 'Such a thing ought not to be done when our people have gone to offer terms; it will be well to keep the bullocks and cows apart, so that they may be sent back when M. du Bausset and M. Delarche write to us about it.'—'True,' the Governor said, 'the cows and bullocks will arrive to-morrow morning; pick out those belonging to us, Muzaffar Jang and others.' I said I would do so.

He then asked if our people had arrived yet and what news there was about them. I replied, 'They have not written yet, but I hear they have arrived from people who saw them going by the camp.' He answered, 'Tyâgu

told me that he had heard guns about two o'clock. Did you hear them?' I replied, 'Yes; I heard seven guns twice. About an hour ago a Portuguese ship came into the roads, and fired a salute which was returned, and she was ordered to depart, as the affair formerly mentioned had come to nothing. She must have fired guns when she left the Fort St. David roads and these must have been returned by the fort.' He agreed.

He then asked if Chandâ Sâhib had received any news. I answered that he had heard nothing important. As M. Le Maire and others came, I took leave and went to the nut-godown.

At eight o'clock the Governor sent for me again, and said, 'Our people who have gone have not written. Has no news come?'—'None,' I said. He then asked how I thought the matter would end. I replied, 'You are very fortunate. He will be only too glad to receive the ambassadors with all respect, and give you the Arcot country according to your desire with many presents and greater jaghirs than were at first given by Chandâ Sâhib. He also will be treated with all respect. That is what will happen, as you are destined to win the glory of overcoming Nâsîr Jang. I have always said so, and assuredly it will turn out as I say. Have any of my predictions proved false?'—'No,' he said. I continued, 'Nâsîr Jang

may come here or we shall have to send presents to him, so it will be well to decide what is to be given.'—'True,' he replied; 'there are only six or seven bales of broad cloth and two bales of two-coloured broad cloth in the fort. There is not a single piece of gold brocade, velvet or other fine cloth fit to be given to great people; but there is a clock which was to have been sent to China for a Mandarin but was sent ashore here with the rest of the China cargo, as the ship lost her voyage and sailed for Mocha. So we have some broad cloth, and some of the camlets which you wished to sell. The price of the clock was said to be 3,000 rupees; and it was finer than anything ever sent to India. It has two sitting figures which appear to be setting it in motion.' When he thus praised it, I said, 'Such a clock should be given as a present to Nâsîr Jang, with various kinds of [small guns ?], Europe articles, the broad cloth on hand and that intended for China.' Thereupon he told me to inquire if fine broad cloth could be had here. I said I would do so. We then discussed the disgrace of the English and agreed that henceforth they would lose ground. I then took leave and went to the nut-godown.

Monday, *April 20*.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked why no news had

[1] *11th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

come of our people who set out yesterday. I replied, 'They reached Nâsîr Jang's camp at two o'clock yesterday; Muzaffar Jang's tent was pitched near Nâsîr Jang's; on this side is Shâh Nawâz Khân's and beyond it is Nâsîr Jang's naubat house. Our people have been allowed to pitch their tents this side of Shâh Nawâz Khân's tent; and M. du Bausset and M. Delarche are there. I hear that they will visit Shâh Nawâz Khân to-night and Nâsîr Jang to-morrow.' He replied anxiously, 'Valudâvûr is only a league from Nâsîr Jang's camp; and if men had been despatched with news from our people there, they would have arrived here last night; or if they had written last night, the letters would have arrived by seven o'clock.' I replied, 'Nâsîr Jang's camp is extensive, and guarded all night vigilantly by many. It would take them till evening to settle down after their arrival. The guards do not allow people to go about at night without orders; so they would not allow letters to pass. They will have seen Shâh Nawâz Khân last night, write letters to-day and send them off if the guards make no difficulties. Otherwise the letters will have to be sent by the messengers specially appointed who will be allowed to go without hindrance. Five or six of them may be selected for this purpose, and given a

pass. That may be the cause of the delay. They will get orders for everything this morning, and will write at seven or eight after visiting Shâh Nawâz Khân and obtaining his reply, and the letters will arrive about noon.' He asked if Nâsîr Jang would again trouble our people. I replied that he would not trick us after giving us his promise and writing to us. 'Râja Lakshmi dwells in him,' I continued, 'and God has blessed him with all prosperity; so will he trick us after sending for our ambassadors? Is his sceptre unjust or will he depart from truth? If, by deceiving our two gentlemen, he could escape his troubles, he would do so. But when two men are enough to scatter his army, what can he do against 10,000 Europeans and a lion like you? Only low people will stoop to deceit. He only enjoys his position by the blessing of God; and so long as that continues, even his servants will never think of treachery.' He agreed, but in spite of his efforts to be cheerful he still seemed anxious; as the couplet says, 'A man's face reflects his trouble, even as a mirror reflects what is before it.'

He then asked if Chandâ Sâhib had any one at camp. I replied that he had received no news. I then went to the nut-godown. Then [ ].

Thursday, April 23.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and said, 'Last night's letter from MM. du Bausset and Delarche says that Sâhib Nawâb Nâsîr Jang has dismissed them, refusing to release Muzaffar Jang, demanding the surrender of Chandâ Sâhib, and declining to give him the subah of Arcot. His dîwân, Nawâz Khân, who is secretly on our side, told them that, if they departed without hesitation, Nâsîr Jang would anxiously demand their return, and then the business could be settled to their satisfaction. So Nâsîr Jang will send for our people to return after they have set out.'—I replied, 'There is no doubt of it. He thought that, if he agreed without delay, men would think him weak, so it is natural for him to send them away, and expect another mission. Moreover he wishes to teach others a lesson and make men think that he only yields to many entreaties.'—'But no one thinks of rebelling,' he said. I replied, 'Did not Chandâ Sâhib do so? He wishes to warn others against the like.' He continued, 'We did so boldly; but the English or Dutch dare not. We must never trust these Muhammadan dogs again.' I replied, 'Such things can be done only by those as bold and fortunate as

[1] *14th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

you. As you have God's favour, you have made Nâsîr Jang tremble, although he regards himself as the Pâdshâh of the Deccan and has an army of 60,000 horse and a corresponding number of foot; and you have driven him to retreat after heavy losses.' He agreed. When we were thus talking, five or six basketfuls of salad, endive, radishes, cabbages, and other European vegetables, were brought in; and the Governor ordered them to be sent to Nâsîr Jang with some fish. They were sent accordingly. Four cases of liquor were also ordered to be sent to Nâsîr Jang. He then asked me what was going to happen. I said that everything would turn out favourably, and that he should fear nothing. He asked what we should do. I replied, 'Am I wise enough to advise you?' —'Leave off compliment,' he said, 'and tell me what do you think.'—I said, 'He will get angry if he is spoken to plainly; but we must be resolute. If we encamp by the Olukarai Mission Church and fall upon the enemy by night, he will get frightened and come to terms. If we write to our people to come away at once, even that will alarm him. He will then understand that we are resolute, though our troops are few, send for us and settle the business.' He replied, 'You are right. Our people may delay because I wrote last

night asking them to bring Shâh Nawâz Khân. I will write and say that Shâh Nawâz Khân need not come but that they must take leave and return to-night.' So saying, he went in, wrote a letter, and gave it to a peon, ordering him to deliver it in haste to M. du Bausset in Nâsîr Jang's camp. He then told me to tell Parasurâman to send coolies to bring in M. du Bausset's and M. Delarche's baggage, etc. I sent for Parasurâma Pillai, repeated to him the Governor's orders, and went to the nut-godown.

At half-past four this afternoon the Governor sent for me to the house that is being built in the fort. When I went, he told me to ask Râjô Pandit why he had come. The latter answered, 'Razâ Sâhib and some jemadars the day before yesterday asked M. Bury to permit them to visit the *Gouvernement* that is being built in the fort, and he said they might. But to-day he says he has no orders. I have now come to obtain permission.' When I told the Governor, he said, 'Tell M. Bury to let them visit the building whenever they please.' He then asked me if M. du Bausset and M. Delarche had arrived. I said, 'No'—'Well,' he said, 'Speak to M. Bury and then you may go.' So I took leave. When I had come down, I saw M. Bury and M. Friell strolling along, so I told them what

the Governor had said. As I was leaving them, M. Friell asked what news there was. I asked him if he could expect me to know anything which he did not. He answered, 'You don't always tell me the news.' He seemed displeased and I thought he would say something if I remained. Just then the Governor came downstairs. M. Friell paid his respects to him, and walked, talking with him and M. Bury, to the latter's house where they sat down. When I was going to the nut-godown, Vakîl Subbayyan met me and said, 'M. du Bausset and M. Delarche who went to Nâsîr Jang about a peace, have returned and are at the Governor's house. Chandâ Sâhib's dîwân, Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân, has gone to Chandâ Sâhib's house. Near Pûtturai, M. du Bausset and M. Delarche met our people who set out at noon with the chests of liquor for Nâsîr Jang and told them to bring them back. So they have returned.'—'Indeed,' I said; and went to the nut-godown. I there heard that the Governor had gone home; when I was starting for his house, a peon came and said he wanted me. On my arrival with Madanânda Pandit, I found him talking with M. du Bausset and M. Delarche in his writing room. The Governor gave Shâh Nawâz Khân's letter to Madanânda Pandit and told him to interpret it. It

says, 'M. du Bausset and M. Delarche are gentlemen capable of talking and appearing before a great assembly; but as the affair about which you sent them cannot be settled, they have been asked to return. You will learn all things from them. It is not well for you to act without sufficient forethought.' Madanânda Pandit read it in Persian to M. Delarche, who interpreted it to the Governor. The latter ordered a reply to be written as follows :—'I have learnt all things from M. du Bausset, etc., and from your letter. If I had His Highness Nawâb Nâsîr Jang's favour, this would not have happened. I will wait till he favours us. Inasmuch as peace cannot be concluded, there must be war. But do not blame me for what will happen in consequence, and continue my friend. Remember that victory does not always remain on the same side, and be sure that all things depend upon God's will. Please tell His Excellency Nâsîr Jang the contents of this letter.' M. Delarche dictated this letter for Shâh Nawâz Khân in Persian to Madanânda Pandit; and the Governor ordered it to be sealed and given to Vakîl Subbayyan's peon, who was to give it to their harkaras with a present of ten rupees to each of the chief harkaras and a rupee to each of the ten others. I gave the money accordingly and despatched them.

M. du Bausset and M. Delarche then said to the Governor as follows :—'We set out on Sunday and reached Khâlif Khân's garden-house opposite the Valudâvûr fort at three o'clock. Nâsîr Jang is encamped with his family near the mosque by the side of the river. Muzaffar Jang is imprisoned in a tent a hundred toises off. Next to this is Shâh Nawâz Khân's tent and next to his was ours. We visited Shâh Nawâz Khân the night of our arrival, and Nâsîr Jang at noon the next day. For the next four or five days we did not see Nâsîr Jang again but matters were discussed with Shâh Nawâz Khân. We demanded that Muzaffar Jang should be released and his countries given back to him, that Chandâ Sâhib should be given Arcot, and that the two large and two small cannon, which we abandoned should be returned to us. They replied that Muzaffar Jang's territory would be given to his son, that he himself could not be released, nor could they give Arcot to Chandâ Sâhib, but that they would give him some jaghirs if he would promise to cause no disturbances in future, that they would not withdraw unless Chandâ Sâhib were given up, that they would not deliver the cannon and that war would follow unless Muzaffar Jang's family were delivered to them. This was their final answer and we

departed. We wrote to you about this yesterday afternoon, and you replied ordering us to return to-night. You wrote this morning also. As we were leaving, Shâh Nawâz Khân and his peishkar, Râmadâs Pandit, told us secretly that, if we departed without hesitation, marched again with our army about five miles and fell upon their camp-guards by night, he would arrange to get Arcot for Chandâ Sâhib and restore his territory to Muzaffar Jang, but that he could not procure Muzaffar Jang's release.' They then spoke joyfully of several matters, the enemy's position, and the review held by the English the day before yesterday, at which three or four men were killed and wounded. Shâh Nawâz Khân was present at it but not Nâsîr Jang. They demanded the release of Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah, the Turk, who knows twelve languages; and his release was promised as a favour, he being but an unimportant person. He has been sent to his house with four harkaras.

They then took their leave; but M. Delarche made a sign to the Governor, went aside with him, and told him something. Afterwards, the Governor came into the outer hall, and M. Delarche went home. I, Madanânda Pandit and Seguniyâ Pillai were there. The Governor came up, and, taking me aside, said that some Brâhman here had been sending

news to Nâsîr Jang. I replied, 'No one here would do so or write letters. But many Brâhmans and Muhammadans have come here as agents of Chandâ Sâhib, with many writers and officials; Muzaffar Jang's people are also here; and all these people have been going in thousands to and from Nâsîr Jang's camp. So who can find them out? The inhabitants who come and go are your well-wishers, and would never think of doing you evil and thus ruining themselves. Truth and falsehood will come to light.' He replied that Shâh Nawâz Khân himself had told M. Delarche. I replied, 'M. Delarche is trying to get the management of affairs for himself. Shâh Nawâz Khân would never have said so. Inquiries will make all things clear.' He did not answer, but, sending for Seguniyâ Pillai, asked him if he had heard anything about a Brâhman writing news. He replied in French, 'I have heard nothing about it here or there. I think it must be false.'

He then asked about the camp news, and about the horses, elephants, etc. I replied, 'There are about sixty or seventy thousand horses, 1,000 elephants, a lakh of infantry and 10 lakhs of cattle, she-buffaloes, etc. They do all things, even celebrate marriages, in their camp. There is a place called Mangalam beyond Villiyanallûr; his troops' encampment

stretches from there up to Tiruvakkarai. Every one is anxious to depart on account of the approaching rains. I hear that he has been making excuses and promising that peace will be made in a fortnight.' As I was telling him this, a peon was sent for M. d'Auteuil. He also told me to send for Chandâ Sâhib's man, Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân. I replied that Chandâ Sâhib had sent word that he wished to come with Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân. 'Let them come,' he said. So I sent word.

Sunday, April 26.[1]—After returning from church this morning, he sent for me and asked if no news had come since our people's return. I replied, 'No. Their harkaras have seized and cast into prison some of our people from Pondichery or elsewhere in revenge for our seizing their harkaras; so all are afraid of going there; and when they do go, they bring only false news.'—'Then, tell me the bazaar talk,' he said. I replied, 'It was said that, as our people came away without taking leave of Nâsîr Jang, he would send people to bring them back. Nâsîr Jang with great pomp received presents and a letter from his country at two o'clock yesterday afternoon. After reading the letter, and considering that he had settled affairs here and taken Muzaffar Jang prisoner,

[1] *17th Chittirai Pramôdûta.*

he resolved to set out for his headquarters on Friday evening after prayers, leaving Shâh Nawâz Khân in charge of Arcot with 10,000 horsemen.'—'Is this true?' he asked. I replied, 'It is only what I hear. No news has been written from camp.'—'Has Chandâ Sâhib received no news?' he asked. I replied, 'When Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân returned from Nâsîr Jang's camp three nights ago, he said that we need not send him news for three days, that he also would send no news, but that he would certainly send news on the fourth day, and that till then men need not be sent, as the toll-houses would be strictly guarded. So no news has come yet; some may come this evening or to-morrow.' He replied, 'Perhaps when Nâsîr Jang heard that our army had marched the day before yesterday from Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry and reached the Olukarai gardens yesterday, he grew afraid and resolved to withdraw. While this is the fact, he has invented as a pretext this letter from his headquarters.'—'Exactly so,' I replied.

He then said, 'Shâh Nawâz Khân told M. Delarche that a Brâhman had been sending news from here to Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân; that Brâhman must be seized.' I replied, 'During the war with the English, no strangers were here; but now the town is full of strangers. There are about a hundred

Brâhmans serving Chandâ Sâhib and each of his jemadars has two—100 in all. There are as many more serving Muzaffar Jang. Moreover people pass between here and Nâsîr Jang's camp like people going to attend a festival. How can all be examined? Besides these, there are about 30,000 Muhammadans and Northerners. How can we find out who they are? I think that M. Delarche tells you this so that affairs [1] may be managed through him. I will give an instance, if you will be pleased to listen without anger.'—'Tell me,' he said. I continued, 'If people really had been writing Nâsîr Jang would not fear our army or you. He says this only to serve his ends. I or Madanânda Pandit alone could write what happens with you. I think this must be false. Because I serve you who are glorious, brave and strong, so great a man as Chandâ Sâhib speaks well of me and my fame has spread as far as Delhi. Why should a man ruin himself by planning evil against you? Would anyone wish to be a cooly or a servant to clear the table after dinner? Because I enjoy your protection, the Nawâb of Arcot stands before me with folded arms. Who would be unwise enough to endanger such a position?' I further gave two or three more proofs of this.

[1] Reading *Jawâb* for *Nawâb*.

He agreed and said, 'You know all things. There is no news that escapes you. You would have made excuses for the Brâhman and warned him not to ruin himself.' I replied, 'Though he were my father, I should excuse him only if he deserved it, not otherwise.'—'Well, go and sit down,' he said. I went into the hall, and then to the nut-godown.

By Madame Dupleix' orders, her chobdar, Muhammad Husain, at noon brought Muzaffar Jang's son, S'ad-ud-dîn Khân, in a palankin, accompanied by Hâji Fâzil (the physician) and a stout Moghul jemadar (I do not know his name). I and Madanânda Pandit went with them. Madame Dupleix took the boy in her lap, and asked the chobdar to interpret when she inquired of Hâji Fâzil and others about their health. Then the Governor came and called me into his room with Hâji Fâzil, so I went with him and Madanânda Pandit. The Governor asked Hâji Fâzil if he had received any news about the occurrences at camp since the departure of M. du Bausset and M. Delarche. Hâji Fâzil replied, 'I have received news. Nâsîr Jang said that the two Frenchmen had departed on Thursday night without his knowledge and without taking leave, and that they would come back. He thinks the Frenchmen to be great warriors, who fulfil their promises. Now the Pâdshâh is the enemy of

Nâsîr Jang. Mansûr 'Alî Khân, the Vizier, who manages all his affairs, and who is the Pâdshâh's tongue and mind, wishes to destroy Nâsîr Jang and the Nizâm's family because the Nizâm poisoned his father when Nâdir Shâh invaded Delhi and captured Muhammad Shâh. He thinks that, unless he revenges himself, he is unworthy to be called his father's son and that he cannot otherwise fulfil the purpose of his birth. So Nâsîr Jang, Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân and the rest of the Nizâm's family cannot escape. As Muzaffar Jang's father belonged to a different family, Muzaffar Jang was given the subahs of the Deccan. But he is unlucky, and by misfortune has lost what he had gained. The old Nizâm knew this, and gave him the name of S'aadat-ul-lah Khân Bahâdûr with the title of Muzaffar Jang, and all the marks of dignity which he himself used. He also gave him his own parwâna. At that time Nâsîr Jang was preparing to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, but by Muzaffar Jang's misfortune he desisted. So he has been unfortunate in every way, and all his hopes of securing success are but as visions in a mirror.' On hearing this, the Governor said, 'Is it true that Nâsîr Jang is the son of a washerwoman?' Hâji Fâzil Khân replied, 'Who said so? It is false. I have lived for the last 24 years with the Nizâm and Nâsîr Jang,

and there is nothing that I do not know. I was his physician. The Nizâm's first wife was the daughter of a Pathan noble (I have heard but forget his name) who was made a mansabdar by the Pâdshâh. Muzaffar Jang's mother is her daughter. The Nizâm then married the daughter of Saiyid-ul-lah Khân, a nobleman, the subahdar of Berar; and he had two sons by her, Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân and Nâsîr Jang, and two daughters, one of whom has married a noble. There are also sons by his original wife; but how can they aspire to the government?' The Governor replied, 'Bêgam Sâhib, Muzaffar Jang's mother who is here, told my wife, ten times over, when she questioned her, that Nâsîr Jang was the son of a washerwoman.' He answered, 'She only said that out of spite. It is a lie that he is the son of a washerwoman. Ghâzi-ud-dîn Khân, who commands the Pâdshâh's artillery, is Nâsîr Jang's full brother, both having the same mother. The sons of Muzaffar Jang's uncles are mansabdars of 3,000 and 5,000 horse under the Pâdshâh and friends of the vizier's. That is how he got the Pâdshâh's sanad. You will know all things when the news is made public. Nâsîr Jang will be convulsed with fear. That was why he allowed Muzaffar Jang to live; otherwise he would have slain him, for he is very cruel by nature. He fears what may

happen in the north, and wants to make friends with you in order to conquer his enemies with your help. As he knows that you are strong and resolute in fight, he hopes to come here and make friends with you, so that (with your help) he may appear the most powerful of friends ; and then he intends to raise his hands against the Pâdshâh.' After speaking thus for about an hour, he added, 'Finally he means to send for Ranga Pillai, your dîwân, speak to him in secret, and depart having settled with him the terms of peace. He fears your good fortune, though, as he is the Pâdshâh of the Deccan, he does not like to be forced to make peace. But if you declare that, unless Muzaffar Jang is released, you will allow no one to rule Arcot or keep the country in peace, Muzaffar Jang will be released and you will receive Arcot.' He also said that Chandâ Sâhib was a bad man. The Governor replied, 'I only demanded Muzaffar Jang's release. I hear that Nâsîr Jang denies that the Pâdshâh sent a parwâna for Muzaffar Jang.' He answered, 'As he has Muzaffar Jang in his hands, he can say whatever he likes ; but can he deny the Pâdshâh's parwâna ? There was one Jama'at Khân, subahdar of Golconda. The Pâdshâh gave him the title of Mubâriz Khân, sent him a parwâna appointing him subahdar of the six subahs of the Deccan on

condition of killing the Nizâm, and ordered all the subahdars, killedars, etc., to march with Mubâriz Khân with all their forces, obey him, fight against the Nizâm, and seize or kill him. Accordingly Jama'at Khân marched with his and their forces. But by the Nizâm's good fortune, having spread heaps of powder on the ground, he drew on Jama'at Khân, etc., by a pretended retreat, till they reached the powder and fought there, when it was fired and all were burnt to ashes. After this victory over Jama'at Khân, he said that he had destroyed the enemy because they had come without a parwâna and that he would not have dared to attack them if they had one. Nâsîr Jang says the same now about Muzaffar Jang.' The Governor said, 'I hear that Nâsîr Jang was adorned with costly jewels when our people went to him, and he stood before a mirror with garlands of flowers on his hands, neck and turban. This is just like a Muhammadan, but surely the Nizâm never did so.' He replied, 'No; the Nizâm was old; he always had the Qurân in his hands, and wore a white gown and turban. But though Nâsîr Jang is a grown man, he cannot conduct himself properly. Muzaffar Jang behaves just like the Nizâm, so the latter thought him fit to succeed and treated him nobly. But by ill-luck he could not put in his mouth what he held in his

hand, so that this man occupies his place. Moreover, Nâsîr Jang wears every kind of jewels except a nose-screw, and, by his good-luck, possesses all the wealth which his father amassed with great difficulty, though there are other sons. How precious are his jewels! Each jewel is set with priceless rubies, and altogether they are worth two or three crores. Moreover he has 10 or 15 crores of money besides 1,000 elephants, 5,000 horses, and all other things suitable to his rank. He also holds the six subahs of the Deccan.' When we were thus talking, the half-hour struck, and water was brought for him to wash his hands. The Governor told Hâji Fâzil Khân to take Muzaffar Jang's son to see the fort. He also ordered me to go with them, to procure their admission and tell the captain of the fort guards to show them the fort. So I went to the fort with Muzaffar Jang's son who was with Madame, showed him the fort, and having taken leave, went to the nut-godown. [.]

The Europeans are crowding into the Madras Fort; I do not know whether this is caused by the fight at Seringapatam [?] or something else. I must inquire and write.

When I went to the fort to-day, I heard that the English had marched against Mysore 'Abd-ul-rahmân, that there had been a sharp fight,

in which many Europeans were killed and wounded, and that, when the news reached Madras, large forces were sent out.[1]

Tuesday, *April 28*.[2]—Two hours before sunrise this morning, we heard the sound of cannon. I suppose our troops have surprised the camp-guards as they were ordered to yesterday. Nine or ten men came and told me that they had heard the sound of guns and muskets since four o'clock. The man in charge of the Valudâvûr gate also sent word about it. Then at six o'clock a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he said, 'The Valudâvûr gate-people said that they had heard the sound of cannon and guns, so I went upstairs to listen. I have been awake ever since, but have heard nothing.' I replied, 'About four o'clock I got up to relieve myself and heard the guns. I supposed that it was our dragoons who marched last night to attack the enemy, so I went out to the street to inquire. The peons there said the same. The St. Paul's Church clock was then striking four; and the firing went on till five o'clock. I also heard the sound of small arms.'

[1] This passage cannot be otherwise translated; nor can the difficulties raised by the statements made in it be explained. It is no tapparent why a battle at Seringapatam should send people crowding into the fort at Madras; nor can I find any record of such an alarm as the diarist describes.

[2] *19th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

The Governor replied, 'I think you must have been mistaken. The sky is covered with clouds, and there is much thunder and lightning. You may have only heard the thunder. It is now a quarter to seven; if there had been an action, we should have had news by now. I do not know what to think. As I have missed my sleep, I am going to bed, and you can go.' So saying, he went back to bed. I went to the nut-godown.

On my arrival there I heard that the French had attacked Nâsîr Jang's camp last night, killed about 1,000, and returned with 15 horses, 4 camels and also forty or fifty copper vessels which they had taken. I went and reported this to the Governor though he was still lying down. As I was telling him, M. de La Touche, the captain of the soldiers, arrived from camp and said, 'I, M. Law, M. Puymorin, and another officer, M. Viguereux, from Kârikâl, marched with 200 soldiers[1] and attacked Nâsîr Jang's army encamped beyond the Villiyanallûr river. We killed many; and as we were returning after pursuing the enemy, about three miles into their camp, the soldiers saw many horses and cattle which they killed with their bayonets. They killed and wounded

[1] The number is usually put at 300, *e.g.*, *Mémoire pour le sieur Dupleix*, p. 55, and Dupleix to the Company, October 3, 1750 (*Archives des Colonies*). Probably Ranga Pillai reports La Touche's story inaccurately.

with their bayonets about 1,000 men as they lay on the ground."[1] The Governor turned to me and said, 'This gentleman has won many battles; and this time too he has returned with a great victory, for the soldiers fought well and refrained from plunder; otherwise they would have pursued the enemy for a great distance, entered their camp and plundered it.' He was overjoyed and patted M. de La Touche on the head. I said, 'Your fortune is like that of Louis XIV, the former king, and M. de La Touche's like that of Marshal Turenne.'—'You can speak so well about these things,' he said smiling, 'because you know so much.' Then M. Cornet came with a bag of 1,000 rupees. The Governor ordered his writer to bring 500 rupees, and gave the 1,500 rupees as a present to the officers and soldiers engaged in last night's fight, and dismissed them with compliments.

When he was speaking about this to M. Cornet, M. St. Paul and M. Guillard came. After talking to them about it very joyfully, he dismissed them and went to bed again, having told me to inform Chandâ Sâhib. I sent

[1] *Cf.* Orme's History, Vol. I, p. 145, 'As it is the custom in an Indian Army to make the great meal at night, and after it to smoke opium and other soporiferous drugs . . . a few resolute and disciplined men may beat up thousands before they recover alertness sufficient to make any vigorous resistance.' The number of slain, however, is probably exaggerated.

Vakîl Subbayyan. Thereupon Chandâ Sâhib sent Râjô Pandit to congratulate the Governor. When he had done so, the Governor asked him whose was the foremost tent. He said that it was Râjâ Chandrasênan's. The Governor said, 'I hear that there was a great man there who, of his own accord, ordered the gunners to rise and fire upon the enemy. M. de La Touche said that he was very richly dressed. Perhaps he was Râjâ Chandrasên himself.' Râjô Pandit answered, 'Chandrasênan died a year and a half ago. His son, Râmachandra Râo, is forty years old but he is a handsome man. His forces are strong and resolute, and have won ten or twenty victories. He pays them regularly every month. His four or five thousand horsemen have long served him faithfully. As their master is brave, strong, and valorous, the Pâdshâh gave his father the title of Râjâ Chandrasên with a mansab of five thousand horse, and as a jaghir Nârâyana-pêttai and the great town of Gundumattukâl beyond the Kistna, containing merchants worth five or ten lakhs. All goods produced in those parts are transported to Lâlâpêttai for distribution. His jaghirs yield 30 or 40 lakhs of rupees, and are inhabited by Kanarese, Balijas and Lingâyats. The Nizâm in order to do him honour granted him cowles, as he never failed to fulfil his promises; and Nâsîr Jang has

continued them to his son for the last two years since his father's death. Râmachandra Râo directs his army. Whenever the army camps, he and his men are placed in front. Râjâ Chandrasênan used to serve the Marathas with 60,000 horse. In the war between Sivâji's son, Sâmbhâji, and Emperor Aurangzîb, he surrounded the Moghul troops and cut off their provisions. When he was desired to admit provisions, he refused, saying that it would be dangerous. He was called a dog and other ill-names for thus disobeying orders; and then resolved to quit the Maratha service, visited Aurangzîb, received a mansab for 5,000 horse, with the title of Râjâ Chandrasênan and jaghirs, and thereafter served the subahdars of the Deccan. His tent is striped black and white. If he is dead, none of the Maratha troopers will remain. When Nâsîr Jang first set out from Sîrpi, the Marathas refused to follow him, but he encouraged them and this man brought all his troops. If he is really dead, Nâsîr Jang has lost his right hand; his loss would be irreparable.'—'In that case,' the Governor said, 'tell Chandâ Sâhib to send men to inquire into this and give him my compliments, saying that I rejoice for his sake.' Râjô Pandit then took his leave.

Chandâ Sâhib's man who came from Nâsîr Jang's camp said, 'The messengers, who

brought letters from M. le Verrier at Surat to Nâsîr Jang's camp, are with the peons at the encampment of the Cuddapah people. They cannot come hither as the guards are watchful, or go westwards on account of the Marathas, so I have been ordered to tell you they are there to avoid a greater danger.' The Governor replied, 'Tell them to stay there and that they will be brought here when an opportunity offers.' He said that he would bring some of their letters. The Governor promised to give him twenty rupees if he did so, and, giving him two rupees for the present, sent him away. I then went to the nut-godown.

At six o'clock this evening, Chandâ Sâhib, his son and Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân brought a letter supposed to have been written by Râmadâs Pandit. It was interpreted as follows :— 'Nâsîr Jang offers to grant a lease of Trichinopoly, to permit you to seize and plunder Tanjore if you will, and to give a mansab of 5,000 horse with a jaghir in Arcot. I have been ordered to propose peace if you agree to these terms. If so, I will visit you; else my coming will be useless.'

Muhammad Razâ Sâhib, a Muhammadan, who is negotiating with Râmadâs Pandit for Chandâ Sâhib, wrote a false letter as follows :— 'It has been decided to give Arcot to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. If you are willing to accept

Trichinopoly, Tanjore and the jaghir as proposed, do so; but if you are bent upon possessing Arcot, and do not agree, he will depart like one who has eaten dung. There is no doubt of it. As letters have been received from headquarters, urgently demanding Nâsîr Jang's return on account of the Marathas' having ravaged the whole country and the approach of the rains, as many of his army have perished, and as his horses and bullocks, etc., die in thousands daily for want of straw and fuel, he will not stay here for a moment but will depart as soon as he has appointed some one. Then you may take Arcot in addition to Trichinopoly and the rest. Râmadâs Pandit has asked me to write to you that, if you are bold, you may do as you please; otherwise he will come and make peace if you write agreeing to these terms. Râmadâs Pandit strives hard in your interest.' There was a slip of paper saying that, if we acted as we did last night, we might conclude that our affairs had prospered. The messenger who brought the letter brought a message also, saying that Râmachandra Râo, Râjâ Chandrasênan's son, and Morâri Râo, who were on duty at night, had fled in fear, creating a panic in the army, and losing many men, that they had been imprisoned for the danger caused by their carelessness, that the Cuddapah, Kandanûr,

etc., people had been appointed in their place and their army ordered to retire. Hearing all this, the Governor asked what reply should be made. Chandâ Sâhib replied [.]

Thursday, April 30.[1]—At half-past six this morning, the Governor sent for me and asked if Chandâ Sâhib had received any news. I said, 'No.' He then asked what people were saying about Nâsîr Jang's departure. I replied, 'They have been saying for the last three days that he intends to set out at noon to-day. I hear that some soldiers and horse were despatched yesterday and that Nâsîr Jang is to march to-day. We shall see what news comes.' After talking with him about other affairs, I went to the nut-godown.

At one o'clock when I was sitting down to eat, the Governor's peon came and said that Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, and Mîr A'azam had gone to the Governor with Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân and that the Governor had told him to fetch me as soon as I had finished my food. They asked me to speak to the Governor as follows :—' Râmadâs Pandit and Muhammad Razâ Sâhib have written saying that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has been promised Arcot, that the English have promised to help him on receiving a cowle for Poonamallee and

[1] *21st Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

a part of the Devanâmpattanam country, as inam yielding a revenue of 10,000 rupees, that the writers will come if [M. Dupleix] is willing to accept Trichinopoly, Tanjore and the mansab jaghir, that Shâh Nawâz cannot come as Nâsîr Jang set out at nine o'clock and has been halting about seven miles off, that M. Dupleix should reply if he is willing to accept these terms, but, otherwise he may do as he pleases. A slip of paper also says that, if necessary, they will speak about Villiyanallûr and other places to be given as a jaghir.' On hearing this, the Governor asked what they thought of it. They replied, 'If we obtain Trichinopoly, Tanjore and the jaghir, and come to a settlement, we can deal with Arcot after Nâsîr Jang's departure as we did before, and take possession of it. We may do what we can if Nâsîr Jang comes again.' The Governor replied, 'I cannot make peace if that is your intention, for I cannot make war immediately after making peace ; you must do as you please.' Razâ Sâhib said, 'I have only told you what has been written to us ; you must do as you think best, my opinion matters nothing.' The Governor replied, 'You can answer as you please.' They answered that they would write as he ordered. The Governor then told them to reply as follows :—'We have told the Governor Sâhib the contents of your

letter; he answers that Arcot, etc., should be given as formerly demanded, that the question of money tribute should be settled justly, that, if you do not agree to this, he does not care whether Muhammad 'Alî Khân has English support or Nâsîr Jang's or anybody else's strong army, for they are as mosquitoes before him, as you will see by what happens to Muhammad 'Alî Khân and others, for the country will not be at peace, and if the French declare war against Nawâb Muhammad 'Alî Khân, the English cannot stand before them for a moment, as experience has shown; these useless English will help Muhammad 'Alî Khân no better than they have helped Nâsîr Jang, his master, in the present war. We are quite willing to accept Trichinopoly, Tanjore and a jaghir in the Carnatic; but as we are under the Governor of Pondichery, we can do nothing against his wishes. He orders me to say that Muhammad 'Alî Khân may have Trichinopoly and that he will not interfere with him.' They said they would write accordingly, and having taken leave departed.

Afterwards he turned to me and said, 'Why should the English get Poonamallee and other places? What do you think of thus granting the chauth to Morâri Râo on condition of helping Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and of Nâsîr Jang's departure after giving the subah to

Muhammad 'Alî Khân?' I replied, 'The grant of a dress of honour to Muhammad 'Alî Khân for the subah, the grant of the chauth to Morâri Râo on condition of staying here, and the grant of Poonamallee to the English,—all these are lies. I think the Marathas are laying waste the country from Aurangabad to the Kistna and letters are constantly coming to Nâsîr Jang urging him to return and meet this danger. So it is true that Nâsîr Jang has departed. The English (it is true) will be given the Devanâmpattanam country, Tiruvêndipuram and other places near Fort St. David. They may ask for Mylapore in compensation for the lives lost in driving out, by Nâsîr Jang's orders, the Portuguese padre appointed by Chandâ Sâhib, and hoisting their flag in order to save themselves from dishonour. I think they will get Mylapore. The English may also demand Poonamallee, which is near Madras, saying that as Chandâ Sâhib without orders alarmed the whole subah, and gave to Pondichery jaghirs yielding a lakh or a lakh and a half revenue, they sent help to Trichinopoly and other places according to Nâsîr Jang's desire, that they eagerly expected his arrival, and that, as soon as they knew he had come, they marched with 1,500 men, and helped him for about three months; so that, as a reward for their services, they should be given Poona-

mallee. But I think that he will not grant this, because he has gained nothing by their alliance either before or now. He dislikes and despises them, so he will not give them Poonamallee. Moreover he thinks that the country will not enjoy peace under Muhammad 'Alî Khân and that all his troubles are due to his friendship with him. Large sums are owing to him. Regarding the grant of the chauth of the subah to Morâri Râo agreed to by Sâhu Râjâ, it must be confirmed by Râma Râjâ who has succeeded Sâhu Râjâ. Nâsîr Jang well knows what he has been able to do here, and it is plain what this man will do after his departure; so I think this must be false.' He then asked Madanânda Pandit what he thought of it. He said that he agreed with me. The Governor then said that he thought so too, and stated his reasons.

Before I came away, I said, 'I believe Nâsîr Jang will remain ten days at Arcot, in the hope of getting Muzaffar Jang's mother, wife and children, and that he will depart after paying what is due to you or mortgaging lands for it. He will not go away leaving the matter unsettled, for then he would be disgraced before the Pâdshâh for leaving his sister in the hands of Europeans and blamed so long as the sun and moon endure for disgracing his family. I think therefore that he will not go without

them.' He agreed. After speaking of other matters, he drove out and I went to the nut-godown.

At six o'clock this evening, Morâri Râo's Vakîl, Rangô Pandit, brought a short Maratha letter to Chandâ Sâhib, saying, 'Although Nâsîr Jang has departed and I have been ordered to go in advance, yet, according to our old agreement, I have remained here on the pretext that the bullocks have not yet returned with straw or grass. As I should be suspected if I remained here alone, I have desired Sânôji Nimbâlakar, the Pâdshâh's mansabdar, to remain with me to-night till I receive your commands. If you will give me your promise, I shall trust in it and come whenever summoned. I will come if you will be faithful with me. Otherwise write to me. I send Rangô Pandit to relate certain matters to you in person, as they cannot be written. Regard what he tells you as if it had been spoken by myself.' When Rangô Pandit had brought this letter to Chandâ Sâhib and reported the contents to him, he sent Kânukôyi Tirumalai Râo and Mîr A'azam to me, who told me what is written above and what Rangô Pandit had said in person. This was as follows :—' It was resolved to give Arcot to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, so a dress of honour and a silver drum were brought last night. A darbâr was held, where were present Saiyid

Sharîf Khân, Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Shâh Nawâz Khân and other nobles. Nâsîr Jang annôunced that Muhammad 'Alî Khân was to be given a dress of honour for the subah of Arcot, and asked if they all agreed. Saiyid Lashkar Khân said that he would very willingly consent, but as the French were opposed to him, he thought it inadvisable. Shâh Nawâz Khân said that, as S'aadat-ul-lah[1], 'Alî Dôst Khân and another had been slain, the subah should be given to Chandâ Sâhib who deserved favour. Thereupon Muhammad 'Alî Khân turned to Saiyid Lashkar Khân and exclaimed that he was foolish with old age, lacking in foresight, and imprudent in speech, and he added, "How can you say such things in my presence? Do I not know you?" Placing his hand upon his sword, he said that the other had only escaped death because he was in an assembly presided over by their Prince, who was great enough to inquire and punish. Nâsîr Jang was displeased with what had been spoken in the assembly and withdrew saying that the grant of the dress of honour to Muhammad 'Alî Khân had been postponed. He afterwards ordered the dress of honour to be returned to his stores. Saiyid Lashkar, and the other nobles who had assembled, then dispersed. As

[1] A mistake. S'aadat-ul-lah died a natural death.

Nâsîr Jang himself has ordered the dress of honour to be returned to the stores, Morâri Râo asked me to tell you that Muhammad 'Alî Khân will not be granted the subah. As others say the same, I think that Chandâ Sâhib will get it; but God knows. No one will offer to take the subah, as Nâsîr Jang is seized with fear of the French and has been opposed by them; so Chandâ Sâhib will surely get it. Morâri Râo wants to make friends with the Governor Sâhib and procure a house at Pondichery for his family to live in while he himself travels hither and thither on the Governor's affairs.' The Governor was overjoyed to hear this complimentary account, and said, 'It is a good sign that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has failed to get the subah of Arcot.' He then ordered a letter to be written to Morâri Râo promising to do as he requested and send for Chandâ Sâhib to confer with him.

Chandâ Sâhib came with his son, Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân, and Mîr A'azam Sâhib. The Governor said to Chandâ Sâhib, 'When a letter came this afternoon saying that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had been given a dress of honour for the subah of Arcot, I said that it must be false. Was I not right? Secondly, the news that Morâri Râo had been granted the chauth in order that he might help Muhammad 'Alî Khân has also proved false. Thirdly, my statement

that the English had not received Poonamallee proves to be true.' Chandâ Sâhib replied that all this was so. He then asked Chandâ Sâhib what reply should be sent to Morâri Râo. He replied, 'All things happen according to your will, not mine. So be pleased yourself to decide.'—'Don't talk like that,' the Governor said, 'you know him and have an agreement with him, so you must tell me what to do.' Chandâ Sâhib replied, 'If Morâri Râo is asked to stay here, he may do so instead of accompanying Nâsîr Jang, and the latter will depart, intending to return. [ ].'

MAY 1750.

Friday, May 1.[1]—News arrived to-day that Nâsîr Jang had encamped. Muzaffar Jang has sent letters by Nâsîr Jang's harkaras to the Governor, his [Muzaffar Jang's] mother and Hâji Fâzil Khân. The Governor's letter says (after compliments) :— 'I shall get and send [ ] from Nâsîr Jang. My mother, wife and children must be sent to me without hindrance, else you will not receive what is owing you, and I shall be troubled without reason, as Nâsîr Jang is on the march and as I have no money. If my family are sent to me, I shall be released and live in happiness. On receipt of your reply, the money will be sent and I shall recover my family.' The Governor replied that there was no need of money, and, giving passes, said they could go. But Muzaffar Jang's mother replied that it would be unseemly to depart without repaying the Governor and that she would first send for money to pay him. But (she added) she refused to stir unless Muzaffar Jang were released. So the Governor decided to answer Muzaffar Jang that his mother refused to depart, though she had been given passes and told that no money

[1] *22nd Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

need be paid, and that her letter to him would explain everything. He sent for M. Delarche and told him to repeat all this to Muzaffar Jang's mother. But she sent him back saying, 'These people are proud. Once they march, your money will never be paid nor shall we be released, and he will be kept in chains. But if we set out after your money has been paid, he will release Muzaffar Jang, if only for my sake. Who will attack him seeing that he is the Pâdshâh of the Deccan?' Thereupon the Governor sent for Hâji Fâzil and repeated this to him. The latter went away saying that he would explain everything and tell him the result to-morrow morning.

When Saiyid Lashkar Khân attended the darbâr, Mîr Asad refused to give up his country[1]; so the Saiyid ordered his servants to be beaten and reported this to Nâsîr Jang who, in anger at his pride, ordered Mîr Asad to refund the money relating to Safdar 'Alî Khân's elephants,[2] and caused his person to be imprisoned and the forts of Chêtpattu and Valudâvûr to be seized and delivered to one whose name has not transpired. [It is said] that Fâzil Khân, a jemadar of 500 horse, has been appointed killedar of Valudâvûr.

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[1] Mîr Asad was killedar of Chêtpattu and Valudâvûr.

[2] The allusion seems to point to some malversation when Mîr Asad was dîwân. Cf. Vol. VI, p. 233 *supra*.

Saturday, May 2.[1]—This morning M. Delarche was sent for to write a letter to Muzaffar Jang. When Hâji Fâzil Khân was asked what had been decided he replied that he would write as ordered yesterday. The Governor told him to write accordingly.

News came that the English under Mr. Cope and others would take leave of Nâsîr Jang and set out to-morrow, Sunday, for Fort St. David, owing to the expected arrival of the Portuguese [?] ships.[2] There is also news that Nâsîr Jang marched with his army and encamped opposite to Kumblamâttûr, where he camped before.

Sunday, May 3.[3]—I hear that Nâsîr Jang's troops are encamped at Pâdiruppuliyûr and Rettai Âlagrâmam, that Mr. Cope, etc., have taken leave of Nâsîr Jang and gone to Fort St. David, and that Kumarappa Bhârati died at twelve o'clock. I gave 10 chakrams for the funeral expenses. I hear that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and other killedars have been imprisoned.

A Brâhman brought a letter from Mahé at twelve o'clock to-day. He said, 'Eight Portuguese ships are at Mahé. Sepoys, etc., are

[1] *23rd Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

[2] Cf. Vol. VI, p. 440 *supra.* The despatch of ships from Goa for the recovery of St. Thomé was expected as a result of Dupleix' intrigues at Goa. But there is no reason to suppose that at this time the English feared any Portuguese, interference. See the correspondence printed by Colonel Love (*Vestiges*, Vol. II, pp. 400–401).

[3] *24th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

going aboard our ships, which, it is said, will arrive in seven or eight days.'

Mîr A'azam then came and said that the English, fearing the arrival of Portuguese ships, had taken leave of Nâsîr Jang and reached Fort St. David; and he proposed that the fort of Valudâvûr should be seized and that four gunners should be sent to Râvattanallûr fort. He added that Nâsîr Jang had promised Muzaffar Jang a dress of honour on reaching Arcot. The Governor replied he would order four Topasses to be sent to Râvattanallûr, and added, 'Every cooly in Chandâ Sâhib's house knows all that is spoken here in secret. That is why your affairs come to nothing. Portuguese ships are coming. An English ship bound for Bengal has returned empty, and, after firing a salute, the Captain landed. The people of Madras are running all ways out of fear. Posthi tells me that the Maratha horse have arrived.'

I was ordered to get two flags, ten cubits long, to be set up on long bamboo poles in Bâhûr and Villiyanallûr. I got two, and, having told Chandâ Sâhib, gave them to Ânaiya Pillai's son Ranga Pillai, who departed for Villiyanallûr to set them up. Some dragoons marched today to Bâhûr and Villiyanallûr.

Monday, May 4.[1]—I told the Governor this morning I had heard that Muzaffar Jang

[1] *25th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

would be given presents in five or six days, and that men who had come from Arcot said that he had been given a large tent and treated with respect for these last three or four days. The Governor observed that that was why nothing had been heard from Chandâ Sâhib.

The Governor wrote a draft letter in French to be put into Tamil and sent to Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ of Travancore; and having sent for M. Le Beaume, he gave it to him, telling him to interpret it to me in Portuguese, and ordered me to get a Tamil letter written accordingly to the Râjâ in the usual form. So I went to his writing room, and, as soon as I had finished the Tamil letter according to M. Le Beaume's words, I reported it to the Governor. 'Good,' he said, 'have two men ready.'

At four o'clock this evening Hâji Fâzil Khân came and told me the details of Nâsîr Jang's interview with Muzaffar Jang, and his bestowing a gown, with his own hand (requesting him to wear it), with a tent, five pieces of Masulipatam chintz and five pieces of white cloth. He also related that on the arrival of the letter from here, Nâsîr Jang opened it himself and shed tears, and that he sent for Jamîl Bêg Khân and other nobles and questioned them about it. He also saw the Governor and reported the above; and the latter sent him away with thanks.

When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked if Muhammad Razâ Sâhib had sent no message or letter to Chandâ Sâhib. 'No,' I replied, 'he has had no opportunity for an interview as Nâsîr Jang is marching by stages.'—'Has no news reached Muzaffar Jang's house?' he asked. I replied, 'They are eagerly expecting news. Those who have returned from camp and the jemadars, etc., who have been sent from here and have returned, say that Nâsîr Jang has been pleased to relax the severity of Muzaffar Jang's arrest and to give him a large tent made at Bunder, a small one of broad cloth, with a gown and other clothes and the promise of a dress of honour on reaching Arcot.'[1]

Hâji Fâzil came in the afternoon and told me about Muzaffar Jang's receiving his mother's and the Governor's[2] letters brought to him by Nâsîr Jang's harkaras. He also related what had taken place with Nâsîr Jang and what Jamîl Bêg Khân, the Subahdar of Berar, had communicated to him and Muzaffar Jang's mother. When I reported this to the Governor, he ordered Hâji Fâzil Khân to be sent for, and then went out for a drive. On his return at six

[1] Here follows a repetition of the passage on p. 104 *supra* relating to the letter for the Râjâ of Travancore, with the additional details that the letter occupied the diarist till eleven o'clock and that he kept two copies.

[2] Reading *duraiyinudaya* for *turappuvinudaya*.

o'clock, I brought Hâji Fâzil Khân to him. The Governor asked him to sit, and enquired about the news. Hâji Fâzil said, 'The six harkaras who carried letters to Nâsîr Jang on the evening of the day before yesterday, arrived about eight o'clock and delivered their letters to Nâsîr Jang. He first read the Bêgam Sâhib's letter at which he wept and was troubled. He then read the letters for Muzaffar Jang and sent them to him. The messengers arrived soon after the ending of the darbâr; and Nâsîr Jang awaking after sunrise, took food, and then before marching, summoned Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Jamîl Bêg Khân, Shâh Nawâz Khân, Saiyid Sharîf Khân, 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân of Kandanûr and other nobles, and showed them the letter which Muzaffar Jang's mother had written to him. He also gave them the Bêgam Sâhib's letters to Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Jamîl Bêg Khân, Saiyid Sharîf Khân and others; but, out of respect, these offered their letters to be read in Nâsîr Jang's presence. Nâsîr Jang, however, said that it did not matter, and gave each his letter to read. They read them accordingly and reported their contents. Your letter to Muzaffar Jang was given to him to be read; whereon Nâsîr Jang observed, "If my sister, the Bêgam Sâhib, had written thus before, I would never have needlessly spent

two crores or travelled 100 leagues from Aurangabad." After dwelling on his losses, he said that he had only come out of anger, because his former letters had been left unanswered, and that if this letter had been written earlier, he would never have come so far, but have delivered the province to him [Muzaffar Jang] and attended to his own affairs and gone to Delhi; he had meant to leave him as Nâib of Hyderabad and Aurangabad; but was obliged to wait and see what was going to happen and whether Muzaffar Jang would behave properly. When Nâsîr Jang thus spoke with displeasure, they replied, "True, he has behaved ill, but a father must forgive his son's errors, and your sister's son is the same as your own, and so he should be forgiven and protected." As each spoke thus in favour of Muzaffar Jang, Jamîl Bêg, the Subahdar of Berar, said, "No one will speak his real thoughts in public; but if each is questioned apart, they will say what they think." Thereupon Nâsîr Jang withdrew, and having sent for Jamîl Bêg Khân, questioned him. He said, "The French helped Muzaffar Jang thus far with money and men because he was your sister's son; and when you yourself came against him, they resisted you because they could not break their promise. They are a brave people and once they take any one's side, they will help him with all their might

to the end, no matter what happens. They have done so now, and you should favour them, prosper their affairs, and bestow gifts on them. They behave thus, whatever business they undertake ; so they should be won over to your side. For all the difference between the Pâdshâh of Delhi and the Pâdshâh of Persia called Nâdir Shâh, who invaded this country and who is not even equal to one of Muhammad Pâdshâh's jemadars, yet Nâdir Shâh plundered Delhi and captured Muhammad Shâh Pâdshâh and then restored to his prisoner the country and withdrew, paying him all honour. Again, did not your father give rich presents and satisfy Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân, the Subahdar of Kandanûr, and your ally, although he had murdered your uncle Himâyat Yâwar Khân ?" He cited a hundred more instances and added, "These people, though strangers, have been treated thus ; so why not thus treat your own sister's son ? Nothing could exceed your bestowing on Muzaffar Jang the country and a dress of honour, and despatching him with gifts. If you do so, your glory will shine like the sun, and so long as the world endures people will praise you for defeating and capturing him who attacked you, forgiving him and even restoring his country to him when he fell at your feet and begged to be forgiven." After Jamîl

Bêg Khân had spoken thus in detail, [Nâsîr Jang] questioned separately Saiyid Làshkar Khân and other nobles, as aforesaid, who answered that it would be best to give the country and presents to Muzaffar Jang and then depart. Nâsîr Jang replied, "It is now the *Nau Roz*[1] festival. I will do so when the festival is over. We will discuss the matter to-night. As the troops are to march, you may depart. Make ready." So saying he mounted his elephant. This is the fifth day of the *Nau Roz* festival and there are four days more. According to his promise, he will give the dress of honour after the festival, put him in possession of the subah, send him to Pondichery and himself proceed to Hyderabad. Jamîl Bêg Khân related all this from beginning to end to his people and also to my man who had taken him a mirror. Saiyid Lashkar Khân and Shâh Nawâz Khân gave him the same news. Moreover before the letters had arrived, the following took place—[Nâsîr Jang] sent for Muzaffar Jang and gave him five pieces of white cloth, five pieces of Bunder chintz, a great tent made of Bunder chintz, with a small one of broad cloth for his use, a cot for him to sleep on, together with mattresses, pillows, etc. Moreover he himself sent a gown to

[1] See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Nowroze*.

Muzaffar Jang, with a head-dress, girdle, trousers, and whatever else was needed. Muzaffar Jang kept the tents, etc., and gown, but taking one only of the five pieces of Bunder chintz, and the five pieces of the white cloth, returned the rest. [Nâsîr Jang] on this observed that he might have behaved so if they had been offered by a stranger, but that his doing so with what he himself had sent showed how proud he still was. But it was answered that this was not so, and that he had only acted out of respect. Muzaffar Jang then asked for their return but Nâsîr Jang refused. When Nâsîr Jang was married eighteen years ago, his uncle presented him with a gown, turban, girdle, etc.; these together with a *kalgi* set with precious stones, a *sarpech*, two *paunchîs* and two breast ornaments, have been prepared to be given with the dress of honour to Muzaffar Jang. They will be given in four days' time and he will come hither in great splendour. You will rejoice to see his coming. Moreover Muzaffar Jang's elephant and his 64 horses and camels, etc., have been kept separate, and his people told to look after them. He will receive the territory this side of the Kistna, with a dress of honour, a *kalgi*, etc., and jewels set with precious stones and will come hither, as is destined, because you and he are one. Nâsîr Jang knows this well; even the Pâdshâh

of Delhi knows it; and God will crown all your affairs with success in five or six days.'

When he had spoken all these things, the Governor asked what news there was about the Marathas' movements. He replied, 'The Subahdar of Aurangabad beat the Marathas who went thither, and the same happened to those who went to Hyderabad. Thereupon Raghôji Bhônsla, who is a friend of Jamîl Bêg Khân, wrote to him asking him to make his peace with Nâsîr Jang. Accordingly he explained matters to Nâsîr Jang, appeased his anger, and having obtained from him a letter of promise, sent it.' He added that the Marathas' boasting had blown away like cotton. 'Well,' the Governor said, 'I only sent an envoy to learn Nâsîr Jang's intentions about Muzaffar Jang's release and for no other purpose. If, by God's favour, Muzaffar Jang returns, I will order salutes to be fired at the Fort and celebrate the day in joy as a great festival.' I observed, 'As God is pleased to fulfil all your desires, this will surely happen. By his ill-fortune Muzaffar Jang fell into the enemy's hands, and has scarcely power to open and shut his eyes; Chandâ Sâhib only saved his life by taking shelter with you; and by ill-fortune too Nâsîr Jang who came hither with a lakh of horse and four lakhs of foot has been put to flight. Till

now Muzaffar Jang has fared well, and it is said that he will be released, receive territory and be sent to you. The whole country speaks of the French valour and says that none is so fortunate as you, to have defeated and driven out Nâsîr Jang who was so puffed up with pride as to deem himself the Pâdshâh's equal. All men declare that your glory shines like the sun, and that at the sound of your name mourners cease from tears. Don't think that I flatter--the whole country says a hundred times as much. If you enquire, you will learn.'—'All right,' he said; and having dismissed Hâji Fâzil Khân, he asked me to tell the Brâhman to offer his (the Governor's) congratulations to Muzaffar Jang's mother and wife. I sent Madanânda Pandit accordingly. He went to the Bêgam Sâhib and offered congratulations. She was overjoyed and sent her thanks.

The European troops who were encamped at Olukarai marched to Villiyanallûr to-day and hoisted the flag; many guns and cannon were fired. I hear they will hoist the flag at Bâhûr to-morrow and fire guns.

Arunâchala Chetti, Alagappa Chetti, Muttayya Chetti, and Râmakrishna Chetti came to-day and said, 'When 'Abd-ul-lah Khân,[1]

[1] Probably 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân.

Mahfuz Khân's younger brother at Arcot, sent men to seize your gumastahs Pachchippulu Mannâru Chetti, Ravva Venkanna Chetti and Chinnarâyalu, the first alone escaped and the others were caught. On being asked where the French goods and yours were kept, they replied they had not a single cash, that they had collected the trifling sums due to them, that there had been no trade on account of the English troubles, but that as the troubles were then over, ships would arrive, trade would flourish and something might be made; and that was what they hoped. On being asked where their people were, they replied that one had been at Lâlâpêttai, but as nothing was to be done there either, he had gone away. Their words were not believed; they were seized and imprisoned; and their houses sealed up. Although Mannâru Chetti escaped, his wife and children have been imprisoned and his house, Tâni Chetti's, Kachchâlai Chetti's, Vîrarâghava Chetti's, Râmakrishna Chetti's, Arunâchala Chetti's and Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti's bazaars of household goods have been placed under a guard. When they were asked if they had any money belonging to the French Company or you, they executed a bond declaring that they had none, but that four bales of silk thread and other miscellaneous articles had been left at Kâvêripâkkam by your man,

Mutta Pillai. Thereupon the men were released. The amaldâr of Lâlâpêttai told the merchants that they need fear nothing, but rest in peace, and that he would go and induce the Nawâb of Arcot to release [the goods]. So the Kanarese,[1] Balijas[2] and others told the amaldâr of Lâlâpêttai that they could close their bazaars or sell their goods wherever they pleased and that their business should not be affected by any troubles between Europeans. He replied that no injustice was intended, that they need not close their bazaars and that he would explain and get their [goods] released. This is the news sent from Lâlâpêttai and it is not known what else will happen.' I replied, 'Nothing much can happen. This could not have been done with the master's knowledge. 'Abd-ul-lah Khân at Arcot is but an ignorant boy, who may have said anything; and the people under him are irresponsible. Nothing has been done up to now, except that the houses have been sealed up.' I intended at first to wait until a letter had come before telling the Governor; but to avoid disappointing them, I dismissed them asking them to come to-morrow morning at sunrise.

[1] Kanarese merchants seem to have conducted much of the trade with the western provinces, importing raw cotton, yarn and pepper. In 1785 a body of them petitioned for partial exemption from the Sayar duties, etc., on condition of settling at Conjeeveram.

[2] The principal Telugu trading-caste. See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. I, pp. 134, etc.

When I told the Governor, he replied indifferently and asked me why I had spoken of it as though it had been important. So I said no more about it.

Tuesday, May 5.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and asked where Nâsîr Jang had camped yesterday. I replied, 'He halted at Olakkûr and Sâram near Perumukkal. I hear that the killedar of the fort fired a salute, prepared food for him, and presented a nazar. Mr. Cope and Mr. Lawrence having left their troops near Pichavâdi and Tiruvakkarai, where they were encamped, went with one or two officers to Nâsîr Jang when he was about to march, and offered him a letter boasting of their services and praying him to give as inam Poonamallee, Mylapore and the Devanâmpattanam countries; but Nâsîr Jang tore it in pieces, and said, "What service have you rendered? The French not only helped Muzaffar Jang with money, men, etc., but when such a one as myself marched hither with a lakh of horse and made them great offers, they refused them, and instead of betraying him, boldly attacked me. The French are bold warriors who achieve their purposes with resolution; but you are only merchants. How

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[1] 26th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.

can you be brave, in spite of your boasting?"' So he ordered them to be dismissed, and having mounted his elephant he departed.[1] They tried to approach him, but he ordered his chobdars to remove them; and it was done accordingly. Morâri Râo's vakîl who was at the Nizâm's camp has sent the same news.' I added that Mr. Cope, Mr. Lawrence, Hâji Hâdi and others left Tûkkanâmpâkkam yesterday evening and marched to Fort St. David. As they were passing by Bâhûr, our dragoons camped there saw and spoke with them; and the peons who have come back from Tiruviti tell me that Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, is ill.

Then M. de La Touche, the captain of the soldiers, who has come in from our camp at Villiyanallûr, reported to the Governor that the flag had been hoisted at Villiyanallûr yesterday, that the dragoons had marched with guns, etc., yesterday afternoon to hoist the flag at Bâhûr, that the English army under

[1] On April 3/14, the English ambassadors wrote:—'We find a party is forming among the Nabob's ministers influenced by the French against us, who seem to intimate in their discourse that they hold the assistance we have given them in very little esteem.' (*Orme M.S.S.*, *India*, IX, f. 2196.) On April 21/May 2, they write, 'Yesterday we got Naser Jang's consent to our demands according to our former advices, and had our agreement reduced into writing in order for his signing it, that the Phirmaund might be made out, but it is not yet perfected, and this day his whole army has marched about six miles from us towards Arcot.' (*Ibid.*, f. 2205.) The ambassadors returned to St. David's on April 24/May 5.

Mr. Cope, etc., had marched to Fort St. David, that his dragoons had spoken with them, and that the flag would be hoisted at Bâhûr to-day. The Governor remarked that Mr. Cope and others were not even dismissed in due form but pushed roughly out, so that they had been put to shame. M. de La Touche said he had heard that they had departed in great displeasure.

When we were thus talking, the report of guns was heard, and the Governor said they must be saluting the flag hoisted at Bâhûr to-day and added, 'Bâhûr has not been plundered. I hear that the gardens and the standing crops have not been touched and that not a fence has been broken down.' I replied that Zain-ud 'Alî Khân had guarded them with his people as it was his jaghir. 'Yes, that's why nothing was touched,' he said. He then talked at length about Nâsîr Jang's and other affairs; but there was nothing else worth writing.

At six o'clock this evening, the Governor sent for me, and said that M. Guillard must be told to ask the merchants to pay, this month, the money they owed for the tutenague. I said I would do so.

Then he asked me what camp news there was. I replied, 'Chandâ Sâhib says that, as the army are marching by stages, there can

be but little news, and that as soon as they halt for a day or two, or when they reach Arcot, there will be no lack of news.' I then talked with him about Saiyid Lashkar Khân and others and came away.

Wednesday, May 6.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and inquired the news. I replied, 'I hear Mr. Floyer is very ill. Although Mr. Cope did not succeed in getting a parwâna for the Devanâmpattanam country, yet the English have hoisted their flag in all the villages for fear that the matter should come to light and the French or others should come and tie *tôranams*.[2] Dubâsh Muttukrishna Pillai has got a lease of Tîrtanagari from 'Abd-ul-jalîl and hoisted the English flag. All the gentlemen, merchants and even the Company's servants in the English town confess that you are as an axe to the Muhammadans, but that no one can imitate you, that all must happen according to the destiny of the stars, that you are fated to be a very God of death to the Muhammadans, so that they fall down before you and serve you. They indeed hoped to achieve what you have done, and expended large sums of money with much powder and shot, and lost many men in seeking to help the Muhammadans, but all in

[1] *27th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.* [2] See Vol. VI, p. 139 *supra*.

vain ; for they have lost their honour and accomplished nothing. Why, they were not even given formal leave to depart, but were led away by a chobdar. The English have behaved like the fox who, seeing that all men and beasts feared the striped tiger, burnt its skin in stripes (being unable to find any other device) and so perished in agony. So too the English, expecting such success as the French had won, joined Nâsîr Jang, wrought their utmost, and spent much, only to earn disgrace. Even though Chandâ Sâhib got the country, they could still have lived at Fort St. David and Madras ; but they were fated to lose their places. The people of Cuddalore and Devanâmpattanam mock them by pointing to the consequence of what they have done. Formerly these same people used to prophesy with joy that Pondichery would perish as soon as Nâsîr Jang, whom the English supported, should come with a lakh of horse, and four or five lakhs of foot, and that his guns would pound the city into fragments. But now they admit that the Governor of Pondichery has terrified the Subahdar, driven away that great man Nâsîr Jang, and accomplished whatever he pleased. Who else can do so ? If the English attempt it, they will only destroy themselves. All the world knows this and we ourselves have

witnessed it in Pondichery and these parts. So they are ashamed. Not only do their own towns-people speak ill of the English, but they believe that their settlements will no longer prosper. People say that in the festival of the Êkâmbarêswarar temple at Madras[1] fifteen or twenty days ago, the car fell over in the course of the procession, that a meteor has fallen in the Fort, and that in consequence the town cannot escape trouble. In August-September 1746, the car of the Chintâdri Pillaiyâr temple[2] fell over during the festival and consequently the English[3] flag was pulled down on 21st September 1746. So, by this evil omen, the English will lose Madras. That is why the English have made enemies of the French. Even if they had not come out to fight, they seized the padre of Mylapore, pulled down the Portuguese flag, and hoisted their own, thus provoking the Viceroy of Goa to send ships to capture Madras and Mylapore. I hear that these ships will arrive in ten or twelve days and then will be fulfilled these prophecies and portents. I told the Governor that the above had been told me by a Company's merchant of Cuddalore who was here.

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[1] Built, it is believed, by Alangâda (Alingall) Pillai, a Company's merchant of the 17th century. See Love's *Vestiges*, Vol. I, page 572, n. 1.

[2] See Love, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, page 142 and n. 2.

[3] The original has 'French' by an obvious error.

I then said, 'I hear that Nâsîr Jang will camp at Wandiwash to-day and that on reaching Arcot he will give a dress of honour to Muzaffar Jang and confer on him the subah of Arcot. All will happen according to God's will.' He agreed. Then we spoke of other matters.

When the Governor returned from the washing place this evening, he sent for me and said, 'The renters of Pondichery, Murungampâkkam, Ariyânkuppam, Olukarai, etc., villages have paid no rent for two years. How is it that you have not checked and made them pay ?' I replied, 'As the season was bad in the year in which the English attacked us, you ordered the renters to pay the year's rent in the course of the next seven years. The rent for each year has to be paid by June. They will pay half to-morrow, the rest by June.' But he denied that he had said that the balance might be paid in seven years' time, and, sending for M. Friell, asked him. He replied, 'There is a balance of two years' rent due for Murungampâkkam, Pondichery, etc.' I replied, 'They say that nothing is overdue. If I may send some one, I will enquire properly and let you know.' The Governor then turned to M. Friell and asked if the renters had been permitted to pay their year's rent due in seven years' time. But he said

nothing because I was there. Thereupon the Governor asked him to examine the accounts and report to him to-morrow. He then dismissed me and questioned him again when he admitted that the permission had really been granted.

Thursday, *May 7*.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if any news had been received from Nâsîr Jang's camp. I replied that people going to and from the camp said that he had encamped near Wandiwash. He then asked if any news had reached Chandâ Sâhib's or Muzaffar Jang's houses. I said 'No,' and then related as follows what Chandâ Sâhib heard two or three days ago:—When Madras was captured, Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf seized M. Bury's son. He afterwards went to Mysore, returned with Chandâ Sâhib, and was made a jemadar of 500 horse. In the battle fought near Chidambaram on the banks of the old Coleroon on March 6, 1750, by Sêshâ Râo against Morâri Râo, Morô Pandit and Khâzi Dâyem with 10,000 horse, Sêshâ Râo was killed and Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf was made prisoner. Since then he has been kept in Nâsîr Jang's camp. Morô Pandit and Khâzi Dâyem told him that they were willing that Trichinopoly and Tanjore should be given

[1] *28th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

together with the mansab jaghir to Chandâ Sâhib, but that the latter would not agree and wanted Arcot as well. They asked whether Nâsîr Jang had marched 130 leagues and spent two crores only to let Chandâ Sâhib seize the country and alarm the whole subah, or to release Muzaffar Jang and bestow on him also the country this side of the Kistna. Has he come in vain? Were he to do this and depart, what glory would crown his efforts? Did he come here to earn dishonour? Can he who came hither with a lakh of horsemen, as the Pâdshâh of the Deccan, only escape by obeying the will of the French and Chandâ Sâhib? To do as they wish and depart in dishonour would be beyond even a mad man. To this Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf replied that, if Nâsîr Jang had offered Chandâ Sâhib Trichinopoly and Tanjore with a mansab of 5,000, he would not have refused; that, if His Excellency had promised to pardon his faults and been gracious enough to give him the country, he would never have refused to do as Nâsîr Jang wished, and he engaged to induce him to agree to this. When Khâzi Dâyem and Morô Pandit reported this to Nâsîr Jang, the latter sent for Muhammad Sharîf and told him that, if he did so, he should be given a monthly allowance and live in comfort. So Muhammad Sharîf has

written about this to Chandâ Sâhib, adding that, if he approved, he would get Nâsîr Jang's parwâna and come after finishing the business, and that Arcot could be seized when Nâsîr Jang had recrossed the Kistna, but that it was advisable to yield for the present. As Chandâ Sâhib knew that the Governor would not consent if Arcot were not given, he replied accordingly, thinking it needless to represent again to him what had formerly been written by Shâh Nawâz Khân, Râmadâs Pandit and Muhammad Razâ Sâhib, when it was replied that no peace could be made without Arcot. So Chandâ Sâhib wrote that he would attend to the matter himself and Muhammad Sharîf need do nothing more, as the Governor would never agree, and Râmadâs Pandit and Shâh Nawâz Khân would drop the matter in disgust, if they were disappointed by their go-between. Muhammad Razâ Sâhib was to write what they said and the matter was to be dropped. So Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf went and told Khâzi Dâyem and Morô Pandit that Chandâ Sâhib would agree to nothing unless Arcot was promised; they reported this to Nâsîr Jang, who asked what should be done. They replied that this only proved their former advice to be good and that unless Shâh Nawâz Khân and Râmadâs Pandit were won over, the matter would be delayed

indefinitely. The Governor said that this was true and explained why the matter was delayed. He then talked with me about other matters.

At three o'clock to-day, I gave one of the two letters written to Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ of Travancore, on Monday the 4th, to two Brâhmans who are going to Mahé with orders to deliver it secretly. I took the Brâhmans to the Governor, gave them the letter, and despatched them with a present of 10 rupees each.

About half-past four or five a letter arrived from M. Coquet from Masulipatam. The messenger said :—' I set out fifteen days ago. Nâsîr Jang wrote that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn had been defeated and imprisoned and ordered M. Coquet, M. de La Selle's dubâsh, Narasu, the merchants and the factory people to be imprisoned, and the factory and other places to be sealed up. Accordingly the Subahdar of Masulipatam entered the fort as though to show the factory to his son, and at noon, when the people were off their guard, came with troops, seized them and imprisoned them in the pêttai. I have brought M. Coquet's letter about it. Moreover horse and foot are encamped at Yânâm, but as it was known that they were coming to capture it, the sixty or seventy soldiers there defended themselves.

Saturday, May 9.[1]—As the Governor is suffering from a cold, he slept till nine o'clock this morning, when he got up, dressed and came into the central hall. I went and salaamed. He had just finished his coffee. Shaikh Hasan, who came about an order for two cawnies of land for a garden, was just departing after getting the Governor to sign the grant he had had written out. On my arrival, Shaikh Hasan said, 'Roy Nârôji bought Sînappayyan's house which is the first on the north side of the Brâhman street, and it was then sold at outcry during the English troubles to a European cooper for 960 rupees. I have bought it from him for 1,100 and odd rupees, and I propose to move into it to-day. I am your servant; so I have come to live close by you. Be pleased to remember me and help me. Unfortunate things have been happening lately, but forgive me.' He thus spoke with many compliments. I replied suitably and told him it was enough.

Then the Governor came and asked what news there was. I replied, 'I hear that Mr. Floyer of Fort St. David is suffering so severely from venereal ulcers in the groin, that he can hardly recover. Mr. Prince who is the Governor at Madras has displeased the merchants

[1] *30th Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

and the army, etc., with his injustice. The soldiers have complained to Fort St. David and threaten to leave Madras; so it is likely another Governor will be sent there.[1] The ship that left the Negapatam roads with guns, shot, etc., for Sadras, anchored off Fort St. David yesterday to land some chests of copper (that is why we heard guns yesterday). The goods have been landed and I hear the ship will sail to-day.'

I also reported that Nâsîr Jang's troops were said to be camped at Pâppântângal and that they would move to Mulluvâdi to-day, but that the news was uncertain, as it was not confirmed by any one coming from those parts. 'It is only rumour,' I continued. 'Some say that the troops are encamped at Nallûr, four miles this side of Wandiwash, that 'Alî Naqî Sâhib came out from the Wandiwash fort,

[1] Richard Prince appointed in 1736, had served mostly in the Northern Factories. In 1748 he was called down from Vizagapatam, where he was chief, to the Council of Fort St. David; and after the rendition of Madras he was made Deputy Governor there. He does not seem to have been responsible for the military discontent which existed at this moment, and which in the following September turned to open mutiny. That was due to officers and men being paid in silver instead of gold at a rate below the current rate of exchange (*Pub. Cons.*, May 30 and September 3, 1750). His civil administration was, however, more open to question. Thus in August 1750, his servants, Thomas Pelling and Singana, were certainly concerned in acts of oppression (*Pub. Cons.*, August 15, 1750). Rumours of this apparently reached the Company, for in the despatch of August 23, 1751, they ordered him to be sent home. He anticipated his dismissal by resigning in January 1752.

was presented to [Nâsîr Jang] by Morô Pandit and settled his business for two and a half lakhs of rupees.' I added that this news could be believed only if reported by a trustworthy person from those parts.

Sunday, *May 10.*[1]—A letter for Shaikh Hasan arrived at one o'clock to-day, and immediately a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. I ate my food, put on my gown, and went to the Governor, having first sent for Madanânda Pandit. The Governor gave me Shaikh Hasan's letter, and told me to interpret it. I gave it to Madanânda Pandit to be interpreted, which he did as follows :—'We took leave of you and reached Valudâvûr at four o'clock yesterday afternoon and fired ten shots at the fort. They replied with an equal number, and we lay the night in the pêttai. Those in the fort are strong and well equipped with munitions of war. If the fort is to be captured, please send enough men and provisions and give orders. Then I will capture it. Two messengers, one a Brâhman, have come from Nâsîr Jang's camp with letters from Mahfuz Khân and others to Mudâmiah of Chidambaram, and with letters from Sampâti Râo and his vakîl to the younger brother of Shaikh Ahmad (the amaldâr of Porto Novo). Some peons too

[1] *31st Chittirai, Pramôdûta.*

come with them. I have seized them all and am sending them to you with their letters, which will inform you of the news at Nâsîr Jang's camp. Please tell me what to do, and I will act accordingly.'

When this was reported to the Governor, he asked me to interpret the letters to Muhammad Khân (amaldâr of Chidambaram) from Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Mahfuz Khân and Sampâti Râo. The following are the contents of Mahfuz Khân's and Sampâti Râo's letters :— 'We have received your letter and understand the contents. The Maratha sardârs have been ordered not to molest the country; henceforth not a single Maratha horseman will appear in your parts. Nawâb Nâsîr Jang has marched with his army and is camped near Wandiwash. After settling the affairs here, he will march to Arcot, keep the *Nau Roz* there, stay twelve days, and then march to Hyderabad; so money is urgently needed for the palace. Send some on account of the Chidambaram and Bhuvanagiri pargannahs. As there will be no further disturbance from the Maratha horse, sell the grain and send money at once.' Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter was only complimentary, acknowledging the receipt of his letter and desiring him to write about his welfare. When I had reported the contents of these three letters, he asked me what Sampâti

Râo had written to Shaikh Hamîd, younger brother of Shaikh Ahmad, amaldâr of Porto Novo. I reported it as follows :—

'I have received your letter, and understand its contents. The servant of God[1] has marched from Valudâvûr to Wandiwash by stages. He will proceed to Arcot with the troops, keep the *Nau Roz* there, and then continue his march. The French are an evil people ; therefore stay not at Porto Novo a minute after reading this letter, but join the camp. Should you find any hindrance in the way, go to Cuddalore or Fort St. David and come hither when you can.'

The Governor then desired me to interpret the Persian letter from Antâji Pandit, vakîl of Shaikh Ahmad's younger brother, to his master. The letter was interpreted as follows :—

'By my previous letters it must be well-known to you why Nawâb Nâsîr Jang marched away all on a sudden. He has now moved from Wandiwash and is encamped at Mulavai four kos this side of it. 'Alî Naqî, Taqî Sâhib's son, has visited Nâsîr Jang and settled their business for 2½ lakhs of rupees. He will go hence to Arcot, keep the *Nau Roz* there, remain twelve [days] and then proceed to Hyderabad by stages. It is not yet decided who shall get Arcot. It was agreed to pay Mr. Cope's 2,000

[1] *i.e.*, Nâsîr Jang.

soldiers at the rate of 12,000 rupees a month which would make 1,44,000 rupees a year. But he proposed that, if the Poonamallee, Mylapore and Devanâmpattanam countries were granted them in jaghir instead, the English would help the Subahdar[1] and see to it that the French never ventured beyond their bounds; he also asked for a naubat. This request was written in most subtle words, but it was torn in pieces and the English have been dismissed. On this Mr. Cope, etc., have returned to Fort St. David with shame. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has again written to them explaining all things and asking them to return. It is not known what they will do or what will happen at Arcot. The French are moving hither and thither, driving out the guards and appointing their own people instead. Remain not at Porto Novo, but go to Fort St. David. Saiyid Lashkar Khân and Saiyid Sharîf Khân have been ordered to proceed in advance with 30,000 horse; they have received dresses of honour, and are about to set out. The Marathas also propose to take leave and go home with their forces. Numberless bullocks, horses and other animals are dying in camp. The place stinks so that no one can lie down there.' On a slip of paper was written, 'Don't stay at

[1] Reading *irundhu* for *irundha*.

Porto Novo, you need not even trust to Fort St. David, but come straight here. Set out and join the camp and you will live happily there. Do as Sampâti Râo has written and set out without delay.' Another slip of paper says that Muhammad 'Alî Khân has despatched a jemadar (unnamed) to the Governor of Fort St. David with an elephant, three horses and a dress of honour. When I reported all this to the Governor, he said, 'Keep the three original letters written to Muhammad Khân of Chidambaram by Mahfuz Khân, Muhammad 'Alî Khân, and Sampâti Râo and take copies of them, and write to Muhammad Khân saying that copies of the letters are being sent, and ask him to pay what is due on the Chidambaram mortgage and the Bhuvanagiri lease; also tell him that Sampâti Râo and his vakîl Antâji Pandit have written to the younger brother of Shaikh Ahmad, amaldâr of Porto Novo, warning him not to trust the Fort St. David people and urging him to join the camp and follow Sampâti Râo's advice.' He told me to copy the other letters and forward the originals. I said I would do so.

The Governor sent for the harkaras, who had come, and Râmayyan who brought Mahfuz Khân's letter to Muhammad Khân of Chidambaram, and asked them who had sent them. They replied that they were the people of

Mansuk Râo, Muzaffar Jang's shroff, and that for fear of being troubled by Nâsîr Jang, Mansuk Râo had paid about 2,000 pagodas to the dubâsh of the Governor of Fort St. David and others to secure shelter and protection in case Nâsîr Jang's people should demand him. At his request, the Governor and the dubâsh promised to protect him. Thereupon he left his family there, and himself has been going to and fro between Muzaffar Jang's camp and Cuddalore. When Muzaffar Jang went to Nâsîr Jang, he went to Fort St. David and stayed there with his family. But when Nâsîr Jang's men delivered a letter from Shâh Nawâz Khân to the Governor, the latter sent a Company's peon for him ; he came fearlessly ; but he was seized and delivered to the Company's peons and sent away with Nâsîr Jang's harkaras. The peons brought him to Shâh Nawâz Khân who demanded Muzaffar Jang's treasury accounts. He gave an account of 60 lakhs of rupees. Though this was correct from the date of receiving the Pâdshâh's parwâna up to that time, he was told that there was a deficiency in the accounts which he must make good. One of the harkaras related with tears that he had been severely beaten. When he was asked why he wept, he replied, 'I have eaten his food and worked for him and cannot endure to think of his pangs. I am going with

news of him to his mother who is dying of grief at her son's troubles. I cannot see their common suffering.' Thereupon the Governor turned to me and said, 'Both these are said to be his servants. How is it that one cannot bear his master's troubles while the other is glad and speaks merrily?' I replied, 'Are all men faithful and loving to their masters? Only one in a thousand will sincerely love his master, rejoice only so long as he lives, and take his food and clothing with contentment according to his position and behaviour. Such a man will be rewarded hereafter with heavenly bliss. Thus indeed should a servant be to his master. They who do otherwise will neither prosper in this life nor hereafter be admitted to the joy of Heaven, but go to Hell.' He agreed and ordered me to take these two to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's mother. I said I would do so, and asked them the news about Muzaffar Jang. They replied, 'Muzaffar Jang was till recently in prison. Great men like Saiyid Lashkar Khân spoke on his behalf, but whenever he went out a curtain was drawn round his palankin; now he goes out without it so that all men may see him. So his countenance is now more cheerful. All say that the great men have concluded an agreement to give him a dress of honour with the Arcot country as soon as they reach the

city. Mansuk Râo also has sent word to his mother to the same effect, adding that she need fear nothing and that in five or six days his joy will be restored. Thus Mansuk Râo is bold. We hear that the Wandiwash business has been settled for 2½ lakhs of rupees by Morô Pandit. It is said that 'Alî Naqî Sâhib has offered to give ten lakhs of rupees if Safdar 'Alî Khân's son should be given Arcot, and says that an agreement could be made with the French and Chandâ Sâhib. 'Alî Naqî Sâhib thus settled his business with Morô Pandit and returned to his father. He [Nâsîr Jang] will march on when affairs have been settled.' Chidambaram Lâl Khân's harkara Râmayyan was then asked by the Governor why the Chidambaram mortgage and the Bhuvanagiri rent had not been paid and why they had written to Mahfuz Khân that they had paid the rent to the French and that the balances could not be paid as the Marathas' ravages had ruined the crops. He demanded to know why nothing had been paid even when the Marathas had gone and when a letter had been sent for the money. Râmayyan replied, 'My master knew that Nâsîr Jang would depart, and that you would continue to receive the rents. So he made excuses to Mahfuz Khân, Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Sampâti Râo about the payments;

he has the amounts owing to you ready to be paid whenever demanded. He is only waiting for your people to come and receive the money and thus get rid of the responsibility. Moreover he did his utmost to protect the Bhuvanagiri and Chidambaram countries from plunder and all this has my master done in order to preserve your friendship.' To this the Governor replied, 'He is a great man, and has long been a friend of mine; but he has not treated me well in this. Now that the horse have been recalled, money can be sent. Write to him at once asking him to send it without delay.' I explained all this to him. The harkara said that he would give Muhammad Khân the Governor's message and ask him to send money and to send word in advance about the time of its sending.

When asked what was the news about Muzaffar Jang, he said, 'He will receive a dress of honour on reaching Arcot. I have seen him both riding an elephant and in a dhooli. The proposal to give Arcot to Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Mahfuz Khân will be dropped. Not only has Saiyid Lashkar Khân beaten Mîr Asad and his people, but has prevented the subah from being given to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, etc. He has impressed the fear of you so deeply in Nâsîr Jang's mind that it can never be removed. Nâsîr

Jang's army cannot sleep if they hear the name of the French. At last the English have learnt that they are good only for trade. They have gained nothing, given cause for anger, and suffered disgrace.'

They added, 'Sampâti Râo and his gumastah Anantâji Pandit sent letters to the younger brother of Shaikh Ahmad at Porto Novo with messages that, as Nâsîr Jang was moving away, the French people would be stirring abroad again, so he should not delay but join the camp.' 'Fear of the French has struck them so deeply,' he added, 'that no one is willing to manage the subah of Arcot; the country is as good as yours, you can do whatever pleases you. Nâsîr Jang is afraid on the one hand of Mansûr 'Alî Khân[1] and on the other of the Marathas who are plundering the country. So he does not know what to do. Moreover he stupefies himself with liquor and opium till he cannot distinguish between wisdom and folly. Thus Morô Pandit and Shâh Nawâz Khân have spoiled him.'

Hearing all this the Governor ordered letters to be despatched according to his original orders and then went out for a drive. I went to the nut-godown.

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[1] The Vizier.

My letter to Muhammad Khân of Chidambaram runs as follows:—'When your harkara Râmayyan was carrying Mahfuz Khân's, Muhammad 'Alî Khân's and Sampâti Râo's replies to you, our sepoys seized and brought them here. From their contents and from what Râmayyan said, I have learnt the state of the Chidambaram and Bhuvanagiri parganahs. The Governor approves of your conduct and has ordered me to write to you, thanking you for your friendly behaviour, in attempting to avoid arrears, and having kept the enemy at a distance, so that they could do no harm. He desires you to pay off the arrears of one and a half instalments on the Bhuvanagiri and Chidambaram countries and thus free yourself from that responsibility. Send therefore the money speedily, as written above. I have kept the original letters to you from Mahfuz Khân, Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Sampâti Râo, and send you copies. You will learn all from them.' I gave the messenger Râmayyan copies of the three letters together with the originals of the letters written by Sampâti Râo and his vakîl Antâji Pandit to Shaikh Ahmad's younger brother after taking copies of them. He received them, and, having taken leave, departed.

I sent Mansuk Râo's people to Hâji Fâzil Khân, Muzaffar Jang's manager, and they told

him the same as they had related to the Governor, that they had come with 20 Carnatic matchlock-men, that they had formerly served Chandâ Sâhib but had fallen into the hands of the Marathas in the battle with Sôshâ Râo, that they had waited till now expecting to be taken into service, and, as they[1] were about to depart, they looked on themselves as free to take any service they could and that they had been seized near Valudâvûr. I informed the Governor and he ordered them to be sent to Chandâ Sâhib. I sent them accordingly.

Monday, May 11.[2]—The European soldiers returned this morning from Villiyanallûr with their arms, and some went out from here to relieve them. 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys, Shaikh Ibrâhîm's sepoys and their horse who had been dispersed at various places are assembled at Villiyanallûr. Shaikh Hasan who had encamped with his army near the Valudâvûr fort, in order to take it, arrived last night at Villiyanallûr being unable to take the place. I hear that M. d'Auteuil told this news to the Governor at six o'clock. I went to the Governor at eight o'clock. He said, 'Shaikh Hasan himself came to me and declared that all the jemadars at the fort had sent him

1 Apparently the Marathas are meant here.

2 *1st Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

word that they would surrender the fort to him on his arrival on condition that he would take them into service, and he declared that if he were permitted to do this, he would capture the fort and hoist the white flag. So I sent him out; and now, in spite of his orders, he has come away.' I observed, 'They can do nothing without Europeans. They are like a thread which smells sweet because it has touched flowers. They can plunder, but they can't fight.' He agreed, and related some further details about them.

When we were thus talking, a letter to Chandâ Sâhib from Muhammad Razâ at Nâsîr Jang's camp was sent to me to be interpreted to the Governor. This letter is fictitious. It was written in Persian by Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân, saying, ''Alî Naqî Sâhib of Wandiwash visited Nâsîr Jang when he was about to take food, and settled his business for 2½ lakhs of rupees. Besides agreeing to pay a large sum towards the darbâr expenses, he consented to pay larger sums if the Arcot subah were given to Safdar 'Alî Khân's son. [Nâsîr Jang] objected that the French and Chandâ Sâhib would not agree to that. He replied that he could come to terms with them about it. I am sure Nâsîr Jang means nothing and will never give the subah. 'Alî Naqî Sâhib is spending his money for nothing and talking

of plans which can never be realized. By Nâsîr Jang's camping near Wandiwash, not only have the neighbouring villages been plundered, but it was feared that the fort would be seized as well. They are helpless. Nâsîr Jang is greatly troubled because the French have posted guards in the several pargannahs.' When the Governor heard this, he said, 'He should answer that I am displeased with the behaviour of the Wandiwash people; even if they succeeded, the country would not prosper, for I would not suffer them to have the subah. Let him write accordingly.' Muhammad Razâ's letter also said, "Mîr Asad kept quiet for a time after he had been disgraced by Saiyid Lashkar Khân; but for the last two or three days he has been going freely to Nâsîr Jang and telling him that he can keep the French in check and rule the subah. There is talk of sending reinforcements to Valudâvûr fort; so if you wish to take it, do so at once or don't betray your intention till he has passed Arcot. I formerly wrote to you that the French factories at Masulipatam, Yânâm, etc., would be seized and the Europeans there imprisoned. The subahdars now have written that this has been done. It has been answered that they should be sent here.' When I reported this to the Governor, he asked me why I mentioned

it. I replied that I had only repeated what had been read out. He observed, 'Tell the Brâhman to ask Chandâ Sâhib to write as I have already said.' I agreed and sent Madanânda Pandit to ask Chandâ Sâhib to write such a letter. He went accordingly and returned, after delivering his message, and said, 'Chandâ Sâhib said that if a slip of paper were sent purporting to be written by Mîr Asad to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân about some intrigue against Nâsîr Jang, it might be made to fall into the hands of the guards so that Nâsîr Jang might read it, and distrust Mîr Asad and Murtazâ 'Alî Khân. If such a deceit were used, Mîr Asad would be suspected and kept in custody and his business would be settled once for all.' The Governor ordered me to send Madanânda Pandit back to Chandâ Sâhib to desire him to write such a letter if thought advisable. I sent him accordingly, and he returned after giving his message. When I reported this to the Governor he asked if such a letter would succeed. I replied, 'If the messenger is clever and bold enough it will succeed; but otherwise he will risk his life and we shall lose honour. God supports the truth, and success depends on Him.' He agreed.

Then a letter came from Shaikh Hasan at Villiyanallûr. The Governor gave it me, saying, 'I wonder what new lie he has written in

addition to the lies he told to get sent there. Interpret it.' At that moment Madanânda Pandit returned from Chandâ Sâhib's and related that the latter would send word about writing the letter when he had thought over it. The Governor then ordered Shaikh Hasan's letter to be interpreted. It said, 'After taking leave of you, I ordered the sepoys to advance and capture the Valudâvûr fort. But they refused to move without their pay. I cannot write the trouble they caused. With the greatest difficulty were they induced to enter the pêttai and fire a dozen shot. The enemy fired as many in return. But I cannot write the troubles they caused when I ordered them the next day to attack. So I retired to Villiyanallûr, lest we should be beset with troubles and the sardârs disgraced when those inside the fort learnt of our position. Moreover as Nâsîr Jang was 17 or 18 kos off, it was not prudent to attempt taking the Valudâvûr fort, so I departed and came to Villiyanallûr. M. d'Auteuil, the commander, and the soldiers, etc., have all returned. If ordered, I will also come in.' When I reported this, the Governor ordered a reply to be written to Shaikh Hasan as follows :—'I am much astonished at your letter. You yourself told me that those in the fort would secretly help you, that they said they would deliver up the fort if you only

marched against it, that you only awaited my orders, and that on receiving them you would capture the fort, hoist our flag, and report it to me. Therefore I wrote to M. d'Auteuil to supply you with cartridges, etc. I never proposed your going and you should have told me beforehand about the discontent and disobedience of the sepoys. It is not proper to write as you have done. Moreover you say it was not advisable to do anything when Nâsîr Jang was only 18 kos off. You write thus because you are young; there can be no other reason. You cannot capture the Valudâvûr fort, but know that I can take the fort whenever I please.' A reply was accordingly written and despatched.

The Governor was then talking with some Europeans and I went to the nut-godown.

I heard this evening that Morô Pandit and Shâh Nawâz Khân had sent a message by Jayarâm Pandit from Nâsîr Jang's camp asking Chandâ Sâhib to discuss certain matters. When I enquired why Jayarâm Pandit had come, Chandâ Sâhib sent word by vakîl Subbayyan that he was very tired and had gone to take his food, that he (Chandâ Sâhib) would speak to him to-night and accompany him to-morrow morning to see the Governor. I reported this.

Tuesday, May 12.[1]—At about nine o'clock this morning, Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib visited the Governor with Jayarâm Pandit, and the latter related what Shâh Nawâz Khân and Morô Pandit had communicated as follows :—'A lease for Trichinopoly and a mansab jaghir for Tanjore will be given to [Chandâ Sâhib]. Shâh Nawâz Khân will remain at Arcot for four months. If, in the meantime, Chandâ Sâhib gives satisfaction, the Arcot subah will be given to him.' When Jayarâm Pandit said that such an agreement was proposed, the Governor replied, 'Well, an agreement should be given that Trichinopoly and Tanjore will be granted at once, that in four months' time Arcot will be granted, and that Shâh Nawâz Khân, after remaining there four months, will get a sanad signed by Nâsîr Jang and give it to Chandâ Sâhib.' Jayarâm Pandit replied, 'Nâsîr Jang will give Arcot if the money due from the Trichinopoly country is paid and if you act as Shâh Nawâz Khân directs. Nâsîr Jang has come from far; should he give you all you desire and depart, what will become of his fame ? Must he not make some abatement ?'—'Well,' the Governor said, and added, 'The Tindivanam, Poonamallee, Achcharapâkkam, Villupuram, Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri and

[1] *2nd Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

Devanâmpattanam countries and Tîrtanagari and Venkatammâlpêttai—have you not heard that all these places have been mortgaged to us for the money owed to us? These places must be restored to our possession until Chandâ Sâhib has paid the money.' Chandâ Sâhib said, 'The country may be leased out to me for a year; and when Shâh Nawâz Khân gives me Arcot, I will pay him the money and give the French the countries above referred to.'—'Well,' he said, 'the matter may be discussed. If they agree, well and good; if not, the original proposal may be discussed. I shall ascertain what they will concede and return.' Chandâ Sâhib said that Mysore should also be included in the terms of peace. The Governor interposed and said, 'Masulipatam, Yânâm and other factories belonging to us in the north have been troubled by Nâsîr Jang's orders. Let him direct them not to be interfered with, and get a writing about it. Then only I will discuss matters. Moreover they have seized seven of our cannon, which must be returned.' [Jayarâm Pandit] said that he would speak about it and asked for a list. The particulars are as follows:—

2 18-pounders;
1 small gun;
1 cannon made of bronze;
2 12-pounders.

The Governor added, 'Get these seven [*sic*] cannon returned to me and tell him secretly that, if Masulipatam and the country be given to me, I will help Nâsîr Jang with all he needs to conquer the country as far as Delhi. I will send 4,000 soldiers to smite his enemies. Tell him this secretly.' Jayarâm Pandit replied, 'I will certainly do so.' Thereupon the Governor ordered a letter to be written to Shâh Nawâz Khân saying that Jayarâm Pandit had delivered his message, and that he was returning with a reply and secret news which he should consider as though said by the Governor in person. Such a letter was written, sealed with the small seal, and given.

The Governor then gave him a copy of the bond executed by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân for the sum he had borrowed, saying that he should only take away his wife on paying this debt, but otherwise he would be put to shame. He [Jayarâm Pandit] said he would tell him and added, 'Nâsîr Jang thinks lightly of the English and has disgraced them, while he praises you whenever your name is mentioned. Your sending amaldârs and peons without fear when there were a lakh of horse with guards everywhere has made him think no one in the world is as bold as you. He has never seen the like. There are not thirty or even twenty such men in the whole world. He

marvels at your valour. In the midst of a great assembly, out of the fulness of his heart, Nâsîr Jang says that had he one such with him, he could conquer heaven. Were I to say a thousand times as much, I still should not exceed his opinion of you.' The Governor replied, 'If Masulipatam and the country thereabouts be given me, I will send munitions of war from here to Masulipatam and Yânâm whence they can easily be carried to Hyderabad and Aurangabad; we of Pondichery will conquer all who disobey him, and I will help him with all he needs to fulfil his desires. Explain this to Nâsîr Jang privately.' He said he would do so and then he with Chandâ Sâhib and his son went to talk with Madame Dupleix and having taken leave they departed. When the Governor asked Jayarâm Pandit when he would set out, he said he would go to-morrow morning. The Governor said it would be better to go to-day. He agreed and departed.

Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib and others wished to visit the new *Gouvernement*, so the Governor ordered a chobdar to take them to the Fort, get them admitted without hindrance and show them everything of interest.

In the presence of Chandâ Sâhib he told Jayarâm Pandit to say to [Nâsîr Jang] that the orders to capture the Valudâvûr fort had

been revoked; and that he had stopped the despatch of ships to destroy Masulipatam and Yânâm; that, if the French trade were stopped, they might lose 10 or 12 thousand pagodas a year; but that, if they roused trouble in those parts, he [Nâsîr Jang] would lose 20 or 30 lakhs, the whole country would be conquered and many would perish—such evil was threatened to country which yields crores of revenue. Jayarâm Pandit said that he would report this. Then all took leave, went to visit the Fort and returned home.

Jayarâm Pandit was sent for at six o'clock in the evening, and [asked] if there was any news about Muzaffar Jang. He replied, 'There is much news about him. [Nâsîr Jang] wishes to bestow the country on him and depart, but fears he may again join the French and conquer Aurangabad and the six subahs of the Deccan. All the great people are on Muzaffar Jang's side, but they and Nâsîr Jang are on ill-terms. The same is the case with the sepoys. He fears to give the country to Muzaffar Jang lest he should turn against him, and so hesitates. As all are on his side and as Nâsîr Jang does not agree with them, he may be forced to give the country to him and return.' The Governor replied, 'Whenever there is occasion, tell Nâsîr Jang that, if Muzaffar Jang is released, I will stand surety for his not

drawing the sword against him.' Jayarâm Pandit said that he would certainly relate this and added, 'Nâsîr Jang summoned Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Saiyid Sharîf Khân, Jamîl Bêg Khân, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân, 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah, and other great men, and asked their advice, whether to release Muzaffar Jang or depart with him as a prisoner. 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân replied that if asked thus publicly, none would betray his opinion, but only bow to Nâsîr Jang's wishes, but that if questioned apart, each would express his real thoughts. Accordingly Nâsîr Jang sent for 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah to his private chamber and questioned him. He replied, "Muzaffar Jang would never have behaved thus of himself; he must have been persuaded by his vizier being himself but young; moreover he would never have made any difference between himself and you, his uncle. He only behaved thus because it was so fated. It is now past. Therefore now forgive him, release him and give him his own country and Arcot. Then he will keep the French quiet, and live at peace in these parts. But you must make him swear on the Qurân never again to transgress beyond reasonable bounds, and make him sign an agreement. If this is not enough, you may make him do this in open darbâr. That appears to me best. If you should decide to carry him

away with you, you must conquer the French, capture their fort, imprison Chandâ Sâhib and recover Muzaffar Jang's children who are at Pondichery. If you do not follow one of these plans, you will be condemned for leaving your sister a pawn for debt in a European town, and your dishonour will last as long as the world shall endure. You will be blamed even after death." 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân thus spoke in order to hasten Nâsîr Jang's determination. He was then desired to go aside, and the other nobles were separately questioned. They said it would be best to release Muzaffar Jang and give him a dress of honour and Arcot. That was Nâsîr Jang's own intention; but one or two, pretending to have his welfare at heart, said that, if Muzaffar Jang were released, he would win over the nobles and the army, imprison Nâsîr Jang and his faithful advisers, and rule the subahs of the Deccan. Being thus alarmed, Nâsîr Jang heard what each had to say, and decided that, as the army was to march, there was no leisure to discuss matters, and that it should be spoken of that night. So the army marched, and there was no talk about it. I do not know what will be done.'

The Governor said that nothing could be more glorious for him than the release of Muzaffar Jang and the grant to him of the country, and he declared, as solemnly as

possible, that, if Muzaffar Jang was set free, he would swear that Muzaffar Jang should behave well, and even stand surety for him, and that he (Jayarâm Pandit) could inform Nâsîr Jang of this. He said he would do so.

The Governor then asked Jayarâm Pandit how Muzaffar Jang was being treated. He replied, 'He is treated as though he was Nâsîr Jang's own son. As Muzaffar Jang is of his own blood, will he be ill-used? So it is not strange that he is well and kindly treated. But Nâsîr Jang fears that, if he once joined the French with his people, he would renew the troubles.' The Governor desired Jayarâm Pandit so to speak to Nâsîr Jang as to dispel all doubt from his mind. He promised to do so, got a pass to depart at midnight, and took his leave. He came to me at night, assured me that he would relate all things properly and return in five days, and so departed.

Wednesday, May 13.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if Jayarâm Pandit had gone. I said that he had just departed. He asked why he had not gone last night. I replied, 'Whose business is it? How can he be as active as those who are personally concerned? Our people worried him till eight o'clock and at last he departed.'

[1] *3rd Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

He then asked if there was any news from Cuddalore. I replied I had heard that 500 sepoys with two 3-pounders had marched and halted at Pâdirikuppam Choultry, on the way to Wandiwash. He asked why they had been sent. I replied, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân's maternal uncle was a sardâr in Madura or thereabouts and was conquering the Tinnevelly country. But the poligars grew turbulent, murdered their Muhammadan master and carried off his treasure. Thereupon Muhammad 'Alî Khân wrote to Mr. Cope, for sepoy volunteers, promising to pay them himself, and they say that therefore they are going. Moreover he has sent for 5 lakhs of rupees from Trichinopoly to give to Nâsîr Jang. 500 horse and 1,000 foot are coming as an escort to prevent the treasure from being plundered by the French this side of the Coleroon. Perhaps the 500 sepoys have been sent to make the French believe that the English are sending the treasure, so that they may be deceived and, in the meantime, the money may reach the camp. Another account is that it has been decided to give Arcot to Muhammad 'Alî Khân and that he has sent for the 500 sepoys as a guard. This is what I hear people say; you must decide what is true.' I added, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter was brought by a camel-messenger, after which the sepoys were sent out.

He said that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had received a dress of honour. If that be true, we shall hear about it this evening.' The Governor replied that the gift of a dress of honour must be false, as we should have heard of it already. I replied, 'We might believe it if we had had written news of it. Formerly Chandâ Sâhib's vakîl, Muhammad Razâ, wrote that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had received one. Did he not again write that Saiyid Lashkar Khân prevented its being given? We must therefore wait, and not believe it even though they claim that it really has been given. They may be playing a trick on us.'[1] He agreed.

He then asked what Mr. Cope was doing. I replied, 'Nothing particular. He arrived at the Manjakuppam garden without ceremony at midnight, when all were asleep, and he has remained there ever since. The recall of his native troops has paralysed everything but his tongue. I hear he boasts that, though he returned in anger, he has been sent for again and that he will go.'

He then asked what had resulted from my letter to Muhammad Khân of Chidambaram,

[1] In a consultation held at St. David's on April 30/May 11, Floyer reports that Muhammad 'Alî has been appointed Nawâb and desires the sepoys in his service in the St. David's bounds to be sent out to him. In consequence it is resolved to advance their arrears, amounting to 14,000 rupees, and send them out.

telling him to send money. I replied, 'He says Muhammad 'Alî Khân has received the country, and his people have come for the money ; and he is promising to send it to him instead of paying it to us, and alarming our people with stories that, if they remain, they will be seized. He speaks thus thoughtlessly, although our people have told him that, if he refuses the money, he will have to bear it on his head and deliver it to the last cash, as it belongs to the French, and that, if threats ever prevented you from getting it, it would be as though the Sun had risen in the south instead of in the east. He was advised, therefore, to speak with caution and forethought. Thereupon those at the cutchery said that the discussion had better be deferred till next day, as they were growing angry.'

I added, 'Not a single inhabitant is to be found in the villages of the Tindivanam, Achcharapâkkam, etc., countries. All the houses have been destroyed. The grain, the crops and everything else have been stolen or cut down, all the places plundered and ruined ; and finally the cattle have been driven off. A cultivator must get everything new or must be supplied with everything. The Villupuram, Tiruviti and Venkatâmpêttai countries are in the same state. Pandâra Mudali owes money on account of Tîrtanagari, but he is at Fort St.

David. This country is in good order, and Muttûkrishna Pillai, Mr. Floyer's dubâsh, has sunk a well for irrigation.'—'Well,' he said, 'God bless us.' Then I went to the nut-godown.

Thursday, May 14.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and, when I went, asked if there was any news. I replied, 'The army is camping at Wandiwash. I hear that they are demanding the surrender of Chandâ Sâhib's wife, daughters and elder brother (Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Pôlûr), and ten lakhs of rupees. The Wandiwash people reply that they went to Pondichery three months ago, and that an agreement had already been made for four lakhs of rupees. Moreover Saiyid Lashkar Khân, 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah, Morô Pandit and others urge that it is wrong to demand the surrender of women, and that the great should only speak with men, fight with them and punish them. Such, they say, is the custom and Safdar 'Alî Khân's wife, 'Alî Dôst Khân's wife and other widows who are in the fort of Wandiwash should not be troubled, their surrender should not be demanded nor should there be talk of attacking or demanding money from them. I hear such a dispute has arisen. Moreover you desired

[1] *4th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

Chandâ Sâhib to write to the Governor of Fort St. David offering him more territory than Nâsîr Jang had promised and to show him all respect. The letter was not written at once but only the day before yesterday. I am told that no reply has yet been received.'

Then two letters came from the camp written by jemadar Kâlay Khân, one to Jayarâm Pandit and another to Chandâ Sâhib, both under one cover and addressed to Jayarâm Pandit. Another letter, in Marathi, was also received, addressed to Gundô Pandit who is with Chandâ Sâhib. The cover addressed to Jayarâm Pandit was opened. His letter says that on the night of the fifth of Jamâdi-ul-âkhir corresponding with our Monday, the *1st Vaigâsi*,[1] Muhammad 'Alî Khân was given the subah of Arcot and a dress of honour; that, if Chandâ Sâhib would take him into service, he should write accordingly, else there would be difficulties; that orders should be obtained and sent whatever was decided; that the same has been written to Nawâb Sâhib; that he should be spoken to and orders obtained, since the writer has been waiting for so long and is short of money. Chandâ Sâhib's and Gundô Pandit's letters were about the same matter. When this was reported to

[1] *i.e.*, May 11.

the Governor, he said that the story of the grant made to Muhammad 'Alî Khân was a lie, that it was a mere trick, and the matter should be enquired into. So saying he ordered me to summon the peon who brought the letters. The latter said, 'It is intended to give dresses of honour both to Muhammad 'Alî Khân and to Muzaffar Jang. A flag for the latter is being prepared in the Dyeing bazaar, and his tent, elephants, horses, etc., accompany him. Fear of you causes great confusion in the camp. Nâsîr Jang was afraid to encamp at Valudâvûr and so has gone to Wandiwash. Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Saiyid Sharîf Khân and other nobles are urging Nâsîr Jang in all ways to release Muzaffar Jang, give him the country and the dress of honour, and send him to Pondichery. Saiyid Lashkar Khân and Saiyid Sharîf Khân were ordered to march in advance with 15,000 horse, but they obstinately refused to move until Muzaffar Jang had received the dress of honour; to induce them to march, they were given dresses of honour and an elephant, and told that they might proceed to Hyderabad with their troops and the troops that serve as volunteers under him, Nâsîr Jang promising to join them there. But they still refused to move until Muzaffar Jang had been released. Therefore he consulted 'Abd-ul-nabî

Khân of Cuddapah, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân of Kandanûr, and others, and they said with one accord that he should be released and put in possession of Arcot, Adoni, etc. Nâsîr Jang cannot make up his mind. Perhaps he is afraid of something happening to him if Muzaffar Jang is released.' He replied, 'The letters do not agree with the messenger's report. These people have sent to Jayarâm Pandit in the jemadar's name, thinking that by saying the subah has been given to Muhammad 'Alî Khân, they will be offered more money, and asked to get the subah for us. That is all.' I said that must be the case. He then ordered me to send the letter on to Chandâ Sâhib, and dismiss the bearer.

As we were talking at leisure about various matters, 'Abd-ul-rahmân's vakîl, Dôst Muhammad, came with a note for 2,000 rupees, being the amount of the sepoys' usual batta at the rate of 3 fanams and a measure of rice for each trooper and one fanam and a measure of rice for every foot soldier *per* day, and asked for the money. Thereupon he said to me that not a single rupee could be paid and asked whence the money could be got. I replied that he could expect nothing from the Tamils but that Lazar might have it. He agreed, and, having called his writer Muttayyan, told him to go to Lazar and get a loan of 10,000 rupees, to be

repaid in nine or ten days. He went accordingly and I went to the nut-godown.

Monday, May 18.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning [and said] :—'The army that lay encamped at Wandiwash has moved and is halting on the banks of the Cheyyâr near Tiruvattiyûr. Nâsîr Jang's tent is a mile from Wandiwash. Taqî Sâhib was asked to visit [Nâsîr Jang] and not only pay 10 lakhs of rupees, but also deliver up Chandâ Sâhib's wife and children, his brother, Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Pôlûr, and others. As it was not expected that these demands would be complied with, he [Nâsîr Jang] declared he would attack them, and made preparations. 4,000 Maratha horse have plundered Sadras, Covelong, places round Madras, the Poonamallee, Manimangalam, Utramallûr, Sâlavâkkam, Chingleput and Conjeeveram, etc., countries, ravished the women and ruined the districts.' I replied that they had done the same as they had done here.

He sent for me at eleven o'clock, and said, 'The Company have sent two medals for 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan with commissions for them as captains. These must be presented with a gold chain and a dress of honour each, the chains to weigh

[1] 8th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.

150 pagodas each, and the dresses of honour to cost 300 rupees.[1] To-morrow I shall assume the red ribbon and the Cross of St. Louis, so have ready at six o'clock to-morrow morning the naubat and other musical instruments, dancing girls, etc.' I agreed and sent word to the several people to be ready with everything.

The Governor went to M. Carvalho's[2] house as he was to be entertained there this afternoon and evening. I came home for my food.

I went this evening to M. Carvalho's garden where the Governor was. He asked if there was any news. I replied that the army was at Wandiwash. He asked me if that was all. I said, 'Yes.'

When I was going away, Vâsudêva Pandit's son came and said to the Governor, 'A

[1] Cf. Vol. VI, p. 22, n., *supra*.

[2] Francisco Carvalho was a Portuguese merchant of Madras, who was concerned in many of Dupleix' mercantile ventures. He was born about 1700 (*Mayor's Court Pleadings*, 1743, f. 57) and married Marie St. Hilaire, possibly daughter of the surgeon of that name who was early in the century employed on missions to Arcot. Carvalho resided at Madras till its capture in 1746, and then went to Pondichery, whence he returned to Madras in 1761. He had five daughters. Marie married Jacques Law on February 22, 1751; Jeanne married Dupleix' nephew, Kerjean, on November 27, 1753; Françoise married a French Company's servant, Denis; the other two married English Company's servants—Charles Floyer, the younger and Charles Smith. Jeanne seems to have been Kerjean's second wife. It may be noted in Law's *Plainte*, p. 75, he says, that Kerjean married his sister; he should have said, sister-in-law.

peon who went to bathe in the tank in Ranga Pillai's Choultry near the Murungampâkkam river, saw a small mortar and a barrel containing 23 shots, brought them and showed them to me.' So saying he showed the mortar to the Governor. He examined it and showed it to M. Law. The Governor said, 'When the English attacked Ariyânkuppam and besieged Pondichery, they may have dropped it in the tank in their retreat. You may have it.' I told Vâsudêva Pandit's son to take it away. He salaamed, took the small mortar, and went home. I then went out [in my palankin].

Tuesday, May 19.[1]—This morning shroff Muttukumarappa Chetti and the Vaduga goldsmith Ayyanan brought two gold chains and weighed and delivered them. They cost 1,000 rupees including the expense of making; the dresses of honour cost 300 rupees. Taking these and a basket of Achin oranges to be offered to the Governor with my congratulations I waited for a suitable time, and went in as soon as he came out to the central hall after dressing. I said, 'God has blessed you with the Cross of St. Louis and the red ribbon. For slaying Anwar-ud-dîn, establishing Chandâ Sâhib in Arcot and defeating Nâsîr Jang with

[1] *9th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

his lakh of horsemen, you will receive the grand cordon of the Order of the Holy Ghost."[1] Thus I paid my congratulations and offered him the oranges. Then M. Bury arrived at seven o'clock. The Governor put on the Cross of St. Louis, which hung from a red ribbon six fingers broad worn round the neck as men wear an upper-cloth. Immediately the sepoys and horsemen who were drawn up from the Fort gate to the Governor's gate, and the Europeans who were drawn up in the Fort, fired a volley and the ships fired four or five salutes of 21 guns. All the Europeans then came and embraced the Governor. Those entitled to kiss him paid their respects thus, and the others offered their compliments. I also paid my respects. He looked as glad and proud as a king, and I believe he will win great glory and fortune. Thus amidst general rejoicings, and the clash of the naubat and other music, the Governor passed through the assembled troops to the church in the Fort to hear mass, followed by Muzaffar Jang's 32 elephants with howdahs, etc. Three salutes and three volleys were fired during mass. Ships also fired salutes; the naubat, etc.,

[1] The Order of the Holy Ghost was founded by Henri III, when the Order of St. Michel had begun to decline in dignity, and was originally limited to 36 members. It was never in fact bestowed on Dupleix.

played and the captains, lieutenants and other officers presented arms to the Governor as he went both to and from the church.

This morning when the soldiers and sepoys were drawn up from the Villiyanallûr gate to the Governor's house, the Governor went at half-past seven to the tent pitched by the Villiyanallûr gate with all the councillors and other European gentlemen, to the sound of the naubat, etc., and halted there. Then he ordered me, the Second, M. Guillard, and one or two officers to march with music, etc., to the Bound-hedge, receive Chandâ Sâhib and bring him in. We set out accordingly. M. d'Auteuil, M. Bussy, and others who had formerly gone to Arcot with the army, were awaiting his arrival at Mortândi Choultry to meet him at the Bound-hedge.

When he had returned home the Company's merchants, Lakshmana Nâyakkan (son of Antannan, the Company's dubâsh at Yânâm), Sêshâchala Chetti and others offered congratulations and paid their respects. Then Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib, his son, Razâ Sâhib, and others came also to offer congratulations. They talked to the Governor about Nâsîr Jang's army camping near Wandiwash and the tricks attempted by Mîr Asad and Muhammad 'Alî Khân. Then they departed.

Muzaffar Jang's son, Hâji Fâzil Khân, and others also came to congratulate him and departed. The grant of the Cross of St. Louis and the red ribbon to the Governor by the King of France for his having defeated the English made the townspeople as joyous as though they had found a hidden treasure. Their joy is indescribable. I pray God not only to bless the Governor with success and authority for a hundred years but also to bestow on him a son to enjoy his lofty position and remain here for ever. Surely it must come to pass.

I will now write about the medals and the commissions sent from Europe to Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and the dresses of honour that were given.

When I showed the chains to the Governor this morning, he examined them and gave me the two medals telling me to have them tied to the chains with bright-coloured ribbons and to lay them out with the dresses of honour, each set separately. At once, I called Appu and Tyâgu and ordered them to bring ribbon and tie the medals to the chains, and place them with the dresses of honour on the table in the Governor's writing-room. When I reported this, he said, 'Send for 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan. I will present them with the medals and the dresses

of honour as soon as I return from the church.' So I sent a peon for them and they came. The Governor returned from the church, wearing his Cross, and, having taken his coffee, drank to the King's health amidst shouts of *Vive le roi*. A salute of 21 guns was fired at the Fort and from the ships and salutes were also fired at the Villiyanallûr camp. When the Governor entered the central hall, he ordered 'Abd-ul-rahmân, Shaikh Hasan, and the councillors to be summoned; and having put the chain with the medal round Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân's neck, he ordered me to invest him with the dress of honour. When this had been done, the same was done for Shaikh Hasan. When he put the chains round their necks, he touched their cummerbands, according to the Muhammadan custom.[1] Then they salaamed and the Governor complimented them on medals and commissions being sent them by the Company as a reward of their services and valour in time of need; and ordered the commissions to be brought. When he was told they were not on the table, he went angrily to fetch them himself. He gave them to M. Boyelleau to be read and delivered to them when they had

[1] I am informed that this is customary as a sign of approval, when a superior bestows presents on an inferior.

been entered in the Council's register.[1] The Governor then turned to them and said, 'M. Boyelleau will enter your commissions in the register and give them to you. Now you may mount your steeds and go in procession round the streets.' Accordingly they paid their respects, took leave, mounted their elephants, and went home by the European street followed by their horsemen. They asked me to go with them, but as the Governor had not told me to do so, I said that I would follow them shortly. 'Abd-ul-rahmân did not show the least joy on receiving his presents but looked downcast. Shaikh Hasan did the same, but not so much as 'Abd-ul-rahmân. As Tiruvalluvar says in his *Kural*, 'A mirror reflects what appears before it, so the face betrays what is in the mind.' Never do the words of the wise prove false, for they have drawn them from their own knowledge. Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan first served as sepoys in the Malayâla country, where they lived in poverty. When they could get no service, they borrowed money or waylaid travellers in the jungles, or even begged. So they lived, lacking money to buy them gowns. When war was threatened between

[1] Copies of these commissions, 'Abd-ul-rahmân's as 'Commandant de cipayes' and Shaikh Hasan's as 'Commandant de cipaye cavallerie,' both dated July 8, 1749, may still be read in *P.R. No.* 28, ff. 534–535.

the English and French Kings,[1] Mahârâja Râja Srî Monsieur Dupleix Bahâdûr Jang entertained in his service Shaikh Hasan, 'Abd-ul-rahmân, and others who had formerly served in the troubles at Mahé on the coast of Malabar. After those troubles were over, Shaikh Hasan, Bikkan Khân, etc., came here with 200 sepoys. A year later Bikkan Khân, and 100 sepoys were sent back, and Shaikh Hasan with his 100 sepoys invited to stay. He did not receive enough even to buy conjee and so lived by borrowing ; but, as he was destined to enjoy good fortune, news came of war being declared in Europe between England and France.[2] Thereon Shaikh Hasan was summoned and directed to invite his elder brother (who was out of service in Malabar) with 500 or 600 sepoys. 'Abd-ul-rahmân came accordingly.[3] When, by good fortune, Mahârâja

1 *i.e.*, in 1740, when it seemed likely that France would help Spain against us. It was not Dupleix however who enlisted them. See below.

2 This was in September 1744.

3 The foregoing is a generally accurate account of the origin of sepoys in the French service. They were first employed at Mahé in the war with Boyanore, 1739–40, when Dupleix was still at Chandernagore. Early in 1742 Dumas ordered three companies of them over to the Coromandel Coast to assist in defending Kârikâl against the Tanjoreans. Two companies were sent back in 1743, and broke ; but others again were obtained in 1746 at the request of La Bourdonnais, who had seen them in action at Mahé in 1741. It is interesting to note that, whereas the English soon appointed European drill-sergeants and a European adjutant to their Sepoy corps, Dupleix left the command and discipline entirely in Indian hands except when sepoys were co-operating with European troops.

Râja Srî General Dupleix Bahâdûr captured Madras which had been in the hands of the English for 121 years and contained the nine gems in abundance, 'Abd-ul-rahmân and his brother seized palankins, elephants, horses, etc., such as they had never seen before, and the Governor permitted all to keep their booty. Thus 'Abd-ul-rahmân got all the plunder of the thousand sepoys under him, and became rich. When the English were attacked at Fort St. David and they attacked the French at Pondichery, he brought some men under pretence of enlisting them as sepoys, plundered the neighbouring villages, beat and plundered the poor, and thus became yet richer. He made more money on the expedition against Anwar-ud-dîn Khân by telling Chandâ Sâhib that he had raised 2,000 horsemen and sepoys. When Tanjore was plundered, and negotiations were entered into with the Râjâ, he made five or six lakhs more. Thus he has acquired ten or fifteen lakhs. Then, knowing that the Navâits are the children of mad widows, he thought he could make himself strong and seize the country. As Nâsîr Jang did nothing when Chandâ Sâhib seized the country, as the Pâdshâh's power was small, and no one cared who held the country,—for these reasons he resolved to seize it for himself, or at least obtain a mansab of 5,000 horse for his

assistance of the subahdar, being led to this by the wealth he had acquired.[1] So he cares little for his commission as captain from Europe or his present and medals. Moreover he does not expect to hold his present place long, so the presents are unwelcome, for his projects must fail if he remains much longer here and the acceptance of the presents is a check upon his departure. So displeasure was reflected in his face. I write according to my belief. Seeing that he is unwilling to receive presents from him through whose influence he has risen so high, I am sure he will follow once more that great Goddess[2] with whom he kept company when he came from Mahé, for he is destined to become poor or suffer some bodily infirmity. As God has caused so much to come to pass in accordance with my wishes, I believe He will do so now. I write according to my opinion.

When the Governor was taking his dinner, all drank to the King's health, and seven or eight salutes of 21 guns were fired from the Fort and from the ships, and the army at Villiyanallûr fired five or six salutes of 21 guns at the same time.

The Governor sent for me this evening and asked if there was any news about Nâsîr Jang

[1] *Kaikkullai irukkira valuvaluppaithottu*; literally, 'by the grease in his hand.'

[2] *i.e.*, the Goddess of misfortune.

at Wandiwash. I replied that no special news had been received.

He then asked if I had congratulated Muzaffar Khân. 'Can I go,' I asked, 'without your orders?' He replied, 'It is but proper that you should congratulate him on the presents the Company has given him. I forgot to tell you. You had better go to-morrow.' I said I would do so and went to the nut-godown.

To-night there was both dancing and singing, and all day they amused themselves with cards and singing. I think the sound of our guns will alarm Nâsîr Jang and his army as if it had been thunder. The wise will think the same.

Wednesday, May 20.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and asked if Nâsîr Jang's camp were still near Wandiwash or had moved further. I replied, 'He is still there. The wife of Husain 'Alî Khân, Safdar 'Alî Khân's younger brother,[2] was not well treated either by Safdar 'Alî Khân's wife, or even by Dôst 'Alî Khân's wife, her mother-in-law. Consequently, what could she expect from such people as Taqî Sâhib, Muhammad

[1] *10th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

[2] He was killed at the battle of the Dâmalcheruvu Pass (*Calendar of the Madras Records*, 1740–44, p. 30). One of Orme's correspondents (*Orme MSS.*, *Various*, 15, f. 5, etc.) describes him as an 'impertinent youth' though a soldier of courage. Cf. *Op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 33.

'Alî Khân of Pôlûr and the other Navâits? Nevertheless, she remained with her mother-in-law. When the wives of Dôst 'Alî Khân, Chandâ Sâhib and Husain 'Alî Khân left Pondichery, during the English troubles, Chandâ Sâhib's wife alone went to Wandiwash; the two others absolutely refused to go where Husain 'Alî Khân was. When Chandâ Sâhib's women-folk reached Wandiwash, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib was sent to fetch the families of 'Alî Dôst Khân and Husain 'Alî Khân. When 'Alî Naqî Sâhib came and explained matters to 'Alî Dôst Khân's wife, she agreed to go as she had her son, daughters-in-law and grandchildren at Wandiwash; but Husain 'Alî Khân's wife said that she had no protector there, that she had lived with her mother-in-law at Pondichery, and gone with her to Valudâvûr, but that she would not accompany her to Wandiwash. 'Alî Dôst Khân's [wife ?][1] alone accompanied 'Alî Naqî Sâhib. Husain 'Alî Khân's wife stayed at Valudâvûr for three or four months, meaning to return to Pondichery when 'Alî Dôst Khân's wife and the others did so. But as they did not, she sent word to Mîr Asad and went to Chêtpattu, where she has been ever since. When Nâsîr Jang marched from Valudâvûr and halted near Wandiwash,

[1] The original reads 'daughter.'

Mîr Asad sent for her, and asked her to petition Nâsîr Jang, saying that Taqî Sâhib had seized 30 lakhs of rupees belonging to her husband and his fort and jaghir which should have passed either to her or to the master of the country. He also desired her to go to Nâsîr Jang's camp, explain her grievances to his women, and present her petition. On her doing this, Taqî Sâhib was ordered to deliver up the money, the fort, Chandâ Sâhib's women, etc. He replied that he could give up neither the women nor the fort, but that he was willing to pay 2½ lakhs of rupees, as already agreed; when, he asked, was it ever the custom to give up women? When he thus replied in respectful words, one day a severe answer was returned with threats of raising batteries, scaling the walls, and seizing the fort; and a gun was fired at the walls. Five or six guns were fired in answer, and when their great shot fell upon Nâsîr Jang's army, his people were alarmed, and he ordered those near the fort to camp three miles this side of it. Now Chandâ Sâhib sends news that his language is more moderate. There was a heavy storm of wind and rain yesterday which beat down Nâsîr Jang's tents, so that the palace women went forth and he himself narrowly escaped a tent's falling upon him. Inasmuch as his tents fell in spite of their being securely fastened with pegs of iron,

and he himself had to seek shelter, what must have been the condition of the rest? In the confusion that ensued, a rumour arose that Muzaffar Jang had escaped; but when men went to seek him, he replied that, if he had only desired escape, he need never have been made prisoner, whereby he was suffering so great troubles. When Nâsîr Jang heard this, he said his words were true. This same news was reported both by the man who came to Chandâ Sâhib and by him who came to Muzaffar Jang's mother.'

Tânappa Mudali then came and salaamed. The Governor turned to me and said, 'Lazar came to me five or six days ago, saying that the five years' lease of the Kârikâl villages had expired and offering 1,000 rupees for its renewal for another five years. I said I should consult you about it. What are the rents of your villages and his?' I said we each paid 3,500.[1] The Governor said that the lease would expire in June. I agreed; and he added that, when new leases were given, the rents would have to be raised. I replied that I had gained little by my lease, as every year something or other happened to eat up my profits. The Governor replied, 'M. Le Riche, who is on the spot, writes that the profits are

[1] *Sc.* pagodas.

great, that many would pay a higher rent for the grant of the new lease and that the Kârikâl merchants should be consulted before it is disposed of. I therefore intend to raise the rent of your villages by 500 and Lazar's by 200 pagodas. If you agree, the matter can be settled at once. What do you say? It can be settled and recorded at to-morrow's council.' I said that I would agree but that Lazar must also be consulted. He was accordingly consulted and agreed. When we reported our acceptance of the Governor's terms, he told Lazar that he would settle the matter at the council, and gave him leave. He then spoke to me about the settlement of my affair, and said that I might manage my villages myself without leasing them out to others. I said I had done that before and would continue to do so. 'So be it,' he said. Then M. d'Auteuil and other officers came. As it was then eleven o'clock, I went to my office.

Hâji Fâzil visited me with a servant this evening and said, 'This is a servant of Muzaffar Jang who has sent him with a letter and message for the Governor. Let him be taken to him.' Hâji Fâzil went at once with the servant and Madanânda Pandit to see the Governor. The Governor went into a room this side, sat down and asked what they wanted. On hearing that Muzaffar Jang had

sent him a letter by his servant, he told Madanânda Pandit to read it. It was interpreted as follows :—'When I was with your army, I informed you from time to time of what was happening, so that you saw all things as plainly as a nelli-berry in the hand. Had but the officers waited with me that night for three more hours, everything would have fallen out as we wished. But as they departed, the affair was ruined and I was troubled and made prisoner. What happened was according to the will of God. Formerly I wrote for my mother and others to be sent. Had they come, they would have arranged for my release or at least comforted me with their presence. But my fate ruled otherwise. My mother, son and others are under your protection; be pleased to guard them well. I swear by your Jesus Christ that I have no protector but you. Bear this well in mind. God's will be done. You are the sole support of me and my children. As for the enemy, he would rather slay than release me. God's will remains to be seen and it is for us to obey Him.' I thus interpreted the letter.

The Governor asked Hâji Fâzil about the matter. He said, 'The servant tells me that Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Saiyid Sharîf Khân, Sânôji Nimbâlakar and other sardârs have received dresses of honour together with

orders to march to Hyderabad with their troops. They are now ready. Some have struck their tents, to indicate that they are ready to march. Shâh Nawâz Khân, Khâzi Dâyem and Morô Pandit are on Nâsîr Jang's side. All the other sardârs and their troops regard Nâsîr Jang as a drunkard, unfit for his present position, and believe that Muzaffar Jang alone of his family is fit to be subahdar; and many noblemen wish for his release. This they have sought many times of Nâsîr Jang. But he still fears that, if Muzaffar Jang were free, he would be dangerous, for people would join him, and so is unwilling to release him. Shâh Nawâz Khân, Khâzi Dâyem and Morô Pandit all tell him that, if Muzaffar Jang were released, he would seize and imprison both him and themselves, that Saiyid Lashkar Khân, the mansabdars, jemadars and others would choose Muzaffar Jang as their leader, seize the country, and exercise authority, and that therein they have spoken the mere truth, but he must do as he pleases. On this Nâsîr Jang, who had been inclined to release Muzaffar Jang, changed his purpose. Moreover the Pâdshâh has thrice sent his parwâna to Muzaffar Jang; but Nâsîr Jang's harkaras waylaid the messengers, so that the parwâna was delivered to Nâsîr Jang who read it and put it into his escritoire. This is why Nâsîr

Jang has abandoned the idea of releasing Muzaffar Jang, now fearing that he will become an enemy and seek his death. Saiyid Lashkar Khân and others wish to seize Nâsîr Jang; but we await the will of God. As many ships have come with three or four thousand soldiers, he fears he may be attacked at any moment of the day or night—his fear is indescribable. I hear that he will either encamp at Arcot and Lâlâpêttai or go right away. Horses, bullocks, elephants, etc., are dying off in great numbers; and some jemadars, who had three or four horses, now have to march afoot. Such is the camp news. Many men have perished but a much greater number of horses, bullocks, etc.' The Governor then asked if Muzaffar Jang's imprisonment was severe. He replied that, if it had been, he could not have written any letters. Thereupon the Governor asked Hâji Fâzil why Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Jamîl Bêg Khân and the other nobles who are befriending Muzaffar Jang could not seize and imprison Nâsîr Jang. Hâji Fâzil replied, 'After all, Nâsîr Jang is the master, and so they are trying to persuade him. But if he will not agree, they will seize and imprison him, and God will help them in this as you will see.' The Governor asked what reply should be sent. Hâji Fâzil said that none was needed at present and that they

should wait and see. Thereupon the Governor gave him leave, so he departed.

The Governor desired Muzaffar Jang's letter to be taken by the Brâhman to M. Delarche to be translated into French. Accordingly I asked Madanânda [Pandit] to go to M. Delarche. He returned at eight o'clock at night with the translation.

Thursday, *May 21*.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, I took the translation of Muzaffar Jang's letter given to me last night and gave it to the Governor. He read it and kept it.

He then asked the Wandiwash news. I replied, 'The army is still there, but I have heard nothing important. Chandâ Sâhib has received news that Sambu Dâs who was at Tanjore went to Nagore, took ship there for Madras and is living there quietly. There is no other news.'

Then the Governor went to the council-house, to enquire into and decide the case of the fifteen officers who deserted the army and have been imprisoned in the Fort. The council broke up at eleven o'clock and the Governor returned home. Then two messengers arrived with a letter from M. Lenoir at Yânâm, which he received and read.

At four o'clock this afternoon he wrote a reply to M. Lenoir at Yânâm on rough paper,

[1] *11th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

put it into a small cover such as Muhammadans use, sealed it with his Telugu seal and addressed it to Kunjam Kannayyan, the English Company's merchant at Ingeram. The peons who brought the letter were given ten rupees and ordered to deliver the letter to M. Lenoir at Yânâm, but to say, if they were questioned on the way, that they were carrying Madras merchants' letters to the English Company's merchants at Ingeram. They said they would do so, took their leave, and departed with the letter.

The Governor did not drive out this evening.

The peons reported that Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân,[1] the Subahdar of Ellore and Rajahmundry, had been ordered by Nâsîr Jang to attack the Yânâm factory; that he had crossed the Godavari with 2,000 foot and 200 horse, on which M. Lenoir had ordered the trees surrounding the factory to be cut down and the ground levelled; and that with 60 or 70 soldiers who had gone from here, and his peons and guns, etc., he was ready to meet the enemy. On their way here, they had met the subahdar near Yânâm, and been stopped; but pretended to be beggars and escaped.

[1] Son of that Coja 'Abd-ul-lah who had been appointed Nawâb of the Carnatic by Nizâm-ul-mulk, but died immediately after his appointment, in 1744.

Friday, May 22.[1]—Chandâ Sâhib sent for Madanânda Pandit this morning and said, 'Muzaffar Jang has sent a letter by his servant to be given me very secretly. I must inform the Governor and send a reply. Please tell the Governor, so that I may go and see him.' I told the Governor about it, but he said that he was just going to Council and that Chandâ Sâhib should be told to come afterwards. Accordingly I sent word by Vakîl Subbayyan and stayed in my office. The Governor returned from Council at half-past ten. I went to him at once, and he told me to send for Chandâ Sâhib. He came with Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân and Mîr A'azam, and all sat down in the central hall. But Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân and Mîr A'azam were asked to go aside, which they did with some annoyance. Chandâ Sâhib then gave Muzaffar Jang's letter to Madanânda Pandit to be interpreted to the Governor. Madanânda Pandit did this as follows :—' I am in great trouble, for my enemy has resolved somehow to put an end to my life. But the nobles are well-disposed towards me and God's will is yet to be seen. Escape is my only means of safety ; so I have resolved to attempt it. Tell the Governor Sâhib and if you both approve, I will do so. Ask the

[1] *12th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

Governor to send 2,000 [ ][1] by the servant who brings this letter ; then I shall be able to escape and our affairs will prosper. Send Hâji Fâzil to me.'

When the Governor heard this, he said, 'What can I say? God is always merciful; none can doubt it. It would be well if he escaped hither out of the enemy's hands ; and our affairs would prosper. Nothing could be better. But if he were caught, nothing could be worse.' To this Chandâ Sâhib replied, 'True. All the nobles such as Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Saiyid Sharîf Khân, Jamîl Bêg Khân, Râjâ Chandrasênan's son Râjâ Râmachandra Râo, Sânôji Nimbâlakar Sultânji, 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân of Kandanûr, 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân of Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram, etc., and their troops, all consider that Nâsîr Jang is a drunkard who neglects all business, and that his people say this or that without regard of right, lack all virtue and are full of every vice ; so they have resolved with their troops to overthrow him and establish Muzaffar Jang in his place as he is fittest successor to Âsaf Jâh. They are now guarding Muzaffar Jang and intend to send him to Pondichery. They have taken into their confidence a certain great jemadar

[1] A subsequent passage shows that rupees are meant.

and have decided on their conduct. The latter pretends to be a close friend of Nâsîr Jang, Shâh Nawâz Khân, Khâzi Dâyem, Morô Pandit, etc., and an enemy of Muzaffar Jang; but communicates to Saiyid Lashkar Khân and Muzaffar Jang's party all that passes with Nâsîr Jang. He is doing all in his power to encourage them to overthrow Nâsîr Jang. This man's name is Râmadâs Pandit. He warns Nâsîr Jang against releasing Muzaffar Jang and says if this were done, he, Shâh Nawâz Khân, Khâzi Dâyem, Morô Pandit, etc., will be ruined. In all this he pretends to seek Nâsîr Jang's interest alone.[1] So he is in their confidence, and they alone are Muzaffar Jang's enemies; the others all wish to overthrow Nâsîr Jang. I am convinced that Muzaffar Jang will reach Pondichery safely.'

With this the Governor agreed, but added, 'Nâsîr Jang might learn of all this and send horsemen after Muzaffar Jang as he was escaping.' Chandâ Sâhib replied, 'Since the guards are secretly on his side, the news will be concealed and it will be six hours before horsemen are ordered to march. In that time Muzaffar Jang could reach Pondichery by

[1] This account of Râmadâs's conduct confirms Grant Duff's expression, 'the traitor Ramdass.' He was rewarded for his treachery by being appointed Dîwân to Muzaffar Jang, when he received the title of Râjâ Raganâtha Dâs. He was at last murdered by a party of sepoys who mutinied because they could not get their pay.

camel. His friends also have posted a couple of Pegu ponies, at a convenient point, in case he should find camels too fatiguing. As regards the 2,000 rupees asked for, the guards who are people of no importance, will be glad to escort him if they receive a present; and that is the purpose for which the money is desired.' The Governor said, 'It would be difficult to send the money in rupees, so let it go in pagodas and tell him to come soon.' Chandâ Sâhib replied that he would send word accordingly. The Governor continued, 'Though many nobles support Muzaffar Jang, Shâh Nawâz Khân, Morô Pandit and Khâzi Dâyem are Nâsîr Jang's friends and oppose Muzaffar Jang's business. These people might send their own horsemen who would not favour Muzaffar Jang. As Nâsîr Jang is their master, some at least will support him, however drunken or cruel he may be. If such people were sent after Muzaffar Jang, what could be done against their pursuit? Although camels travel fast, yet it would be better to tell Muzaffar Jang to come by way of Âlambarai and I could post some soldiers there with boats and sloops. If he went aboard as soon as he arrived there, he could be here in three hours, or he might go to Kûnimêdu if that were easier, or to Covelong if the road were clear.' I replied, 'The horsemen

may pursue him in this direction, expecting him to fly here; so he might take the Âlambarai road and instead of taking boat at Âlambarai or coming along the beach, he might take a short-cut through the scrub and arrive here safely. Covelong and Sadras are distant places. If he left the camp and came overland, setting out three hours after sunset, he could certainly reach Pondichery before sunrise.'—'True,' he said, 'we will post boats from Âlambarai to Kûnimêdu, so that he can take them wherever he pleases. Tell Chandâ Sâhib to send word to Muzaffar Jang to come here by whatever way he can escape his pursuers.' Chandâ Sâhib agreed. The Governor added, 'In case the people who take him the money are questioned on the Cuddalore road, let them say they come from Cuddalore. This may be believed, as many pass to and fro that way. Let the men go as cautiously as possible. It will be best for him to come here; and we shall only be happy on the day on which God blesses us with his presence. Tell him to come without delay. I will send the pagodas by Rangappan.' Chandâ Sâhib agreed, and, as he was taking leave, the Governor said, 'Is it really true that there is a plot against Nâsîr Jang?'—'Who can doubt it?' he replied. 'As you will see, it will bear fruit in 15 or 20 days.'—'Then my prayers to

God will be answered,' the Governor said; 'has there been any news since Jayarâm Pandit went away?' Chandâ Sâhib replied, 'One Mirzâ came with a message from Jayarâm Pandit that, as you had desired, the affair had been settled, and that he would arrive in five or six days.'—'God grant it,' he said and so dismissed him.

The councils held yesterday and to-day were councils of war, and it is not known what resolutions were taken. But the Governor spoke sorrowfully with M. Law, M. Bury and M. Bussy. He also sent for the box of precious stones that had been set apart for the soldiers, and examined it.[1] I went to my office. I hear that he gave the chest to his writer, saying that he would see it again tomorrow.

The Governor sent for me at half-past three this afternoon and gave me a bag containing 572 Pondichery pagodas, saying, 'Give it to Chandâ Sâhib to be sent to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. I hope the bearer will not run

[1] The consultations mentioned above were concerned with the punishment of the officers who had mutinied in the previous month. They received a certain amount of support in Pondichery, especially from Le Maire, the *Procureur-Général.* This led to a sharp quarrel between Dupleix and Le Maire, in the course of which Le Maire accused the Governor of treating him unfairly in the matter of a box, which had been sealed up as property of a corporal who had died in October, 1748, and concerning which claims had been made by other soldiers on behalf of the deceased's estate. It is this affair, I conjecture, to which Ranga Pillai is alluding.

away with it.' I said nothing. He came out of his room again and sat down in the central hall, and asked whether the letter had desired the money to be sent and whether it had been signed by Muzaffar Jang. I replied that Madanânda Pandit had informed me that this was so and added, 'I think you know Muzaffar Jang's writing. It seems to be his.'—'True,' he said, 'I think so too. It certainly is his writing. There is no doubt about it.'

When we were thus talking, there came M. du Bausset who has been ordered to the Malabar Coast in the matter of the coconut plantations.[1] On his arrival, the Governor said to me, 'Give these pagodas to Chandâ Sâhib and ask him to send them off; and find out when boats may be sent to Âlambarai and Kûnimêdu.' I took leave, saying that I would obey his orders. I went to Chandâ Sâhib with Madanânda Pandit and gave him the bag of 572 pagodas from the Governor, saying that they amounted to 2,000 rupees at the current rate of exchange. Chandâ Sâhib sent a servant for Pîr Muhammad who came from Muzaffar Jang yesterday. He came accordingly

[1] In his report of 1750 on the Company's Servants (*Arch. des. Col.* C[a] 15), Dupleix says of Du Bausset, 'Je l'occupe à prendre soin des limites et des plantations d' arbres et cocotiers.' When Lally reached Pondichery, he found Du Bausset enjoying an island planted with coconuts at an annual rent of 400 livres, whereas offers were made by others to take the island at 5,000 and 9,000 livres (*Mémoire pour le Comte de Lully*, p. 13).

from the house of Muzaffar Jang's wife. Chandâ Sâhib asked him to sit, placing the bag of pagodas before him, and desired Madanânda Pandit to count the pagodas. He counted by fives and after twenty counts, put the 100 pagodas aside. When Madanânda Pandit had thus counted all the pagodas, Pîr Muhammad said he had counted 572. Chandâ Sâhib said that they had been sent by the Governor for 2,000 rupees. Pîr Muhammad asked if each pagoda was worth three rupees and a half. Chandâ Sâhib asked me. I replied, 'The Governor reckoned the pagodas at 3½ rupees. The bazaar rate here is 360 or 361.[1] At this rate, there will be an excess of 55 or 56 rupees; but at the current rate outside, there will be an excess of 200 rupees.' Chandâ Sâhib repeated what I had said to Muzaffar Jang's servant, who replied, 'If I take these pagodas, the guards will seize them and I shall be ruined. It would be better to give a bill of exchange or else send your own people. I will deliver the letter, tell him about the despatch of the pagodas, obtain his orders, and bring your people to him.' Chandâ

[1] The exchange of rupees and pagodas was usually quoted at so many rupees *per* 100 pagodas. The arrival of Nâsîr Jang's army, which was paid in rupees, had flooded the Carnatic with that specie and had greatly lowered its gold value. This was accentuated by the troubles in the country which had led people to hide their valuables, especially gold (*Pub. Des. to Eng.*, October 24, 1750).

Sâhib replied, 'That's nothing to me. The letter asks me to give you 2,000 rupees: As rupees are large and heavy, and pagodas take up less room, the Governor has given the money in pagodas and I have given them to you. I will give you a note and send four men to guard you.' The servant replied that he would also take two or three men who had come with him yesterday, and desired that Hâji Fâzil should be sent for and informed. Chandâ Sâhib asked why Hâji Fâzil had not already been fetched. The servants replied that they had not been ordered to, but that he should be fetched at once. On his arrival, the bag of pagodas was taken from the servant, and given to Hâji Fâzil. He was also told about Chandâ Sâhib's going to the Governor with Muzaffar Jang's letter, the questions and answers that had passed, the sending of 572 pagodas for the 2,000 rupees, the rise in the current rate in the town, the excess of 200 rupees it will amount to if calculated at the rate obtaining outside, the delivery and counting of the pagodas to the man who brought the letter, and his reply. Hâji Fâzil said that it would be safer to give a bill of exchange. Chandâ Sâhib took the pagodas and replied that no one could be found to give a bill. The names of certain jemadars were then mentioned, and in the end it was

decided to send for Misri Khân, son of Muhammad Khân Sulaimân, as he was considered likely to convey the money safely. Chandâ Sâhib asked me to inform the Governor and to ask him to have boats ready from Âlambarai to Kûnimêdu on Tuesday. I agreed to do so and taking leave of him came and informed the Governor as soon as he had returned at six o'clock from his drive.

We then discussed Nâsîr Jang's halt at Wandiwash, his increasing demands in consequence of the humility of the fort-people, his making Husain 'Alî Khân's wife complain so that Mîr Asad might become the more troublesome, and his resolve to reduce the Navâits by wresting from them all their wealth. I added the common report that Nâsîr Jang was being troubled with many complaints against the Navâits. The Governor replied that the times were good enough for those who smite others on the mouth, but that the meek suffered. I then took leave and went to the nut-godown.

Saturday, May 23.[1]—At nine o'clock this morning I told the Governor that it had been arranged to send the pagodas to Muzaffar Jang by Misri Khân, Muhammad Khân

[1] 13th *Vaigâsi Pramôdûta* 6th day after the full moon.

Sulaimân's son, and that the servant had taken Chandâ Sâhib's and Hâji Fâzil's letters, accompanied by Misri Khân's man. I also reported that the Wandiwash affair which had at first been settled for 2½ lakhs of rupees had now been settled for 6 lakhs, including a lakh of rupees for darbâr charges, that Chandâ Sâhib had told me that he had received news of this from Wandiwash, that Nâsîr Jang proposed to march on Monday after receiving the money, that Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Saiyid Sharîf Khân and Sultânji who are mansabdars of 20,000 horse were said to have obtained dresses of honour and marched in advance, and that the mansabdars of 400 and 500 horse who had accompanied Nâsîr Jang had taken leave and departed, with about 10,000 horse in all. I did not hear any further news to-day.

Tuesday, May 26.[1]—To-day is the anniversary of Pillai Avargal.[2]

As the Governor has ordered that Chandâ Sâhib and Jayarâm Pandit (who arrived last night from Nâsîr Jang's camp on behalf of Shâh Nawâz Khân and Mirzâ 'Abd-ul-nabî) should be brought to him at six o'clock this

[1] 16th *Vaigâsi*, *Pramôdûta*.

[2] *i.e*, the annual ceremony in commemoration of the death of Ranga Pillai's father.

morning, I arose at four, bathed, performed all the ceremonies with the help of the Brâhmans at sunrise, and sent Râyasam Chinnappayyan to bring Chandâ Sâhib, Jayarâm Pandit, etc., with Madanânda Pandit. I then went to my office. When I asked about the Governor, I learnt that he was asleep. He woke up at seven o'clock and ordered Chandâ Sâhib, etc., to be sent for. So I sent for vakîl Subbayyan, and, having told him to bring Chandâ Sâhib and others, went to the Governor's. He was then dressing. Having learnt of my coming, he called me in and asked Jayarâm Pandit's news. I replied that I had not seen him, but that there was no news except what the Brâhman had heard and reported. Just then news came that the councillors were proceeding to the council-chamber. The Governor dressed himself, drank coffee, ordered chairs to be put in the central hall, sent for M. Bertrand and told him to desire the councillors to come again to-morrow, as he had to see Chandâ Sâhib and their conversation would take some time. He sent them away accordingly.

Chandâ Sâhib, Qutb-ud-dîn Khân, Mîr A'azam and Jayarâm Pandit then arrived. The Governor asked why Mirzâ 'Abd-ul-nabî was absent. Jayarâm Pandit said that he had not been sent for. He was then fetched. The Governor then turned to Jayarâm Pandit

and asked what had been the result of the discussions with Shâh Nawâz Khân. He replied, 'Your proposals and theirs do not agree. So they sent me back in order that, if you agree to their terms, I can inform them and return here with nobles to make a final agreement.' He asked what they wished. Jayarâm Pandit replied in the presence of Chandâ Sâhib and others, 'It has been resolved to lease Trichinopoly and Tanjore to you. You can occupy them and then lease them to Chandâ Sâhib. Arcot, etc., are to be under Shâh Nawâz Khân. If Chandâ Sâhib will act for four or five months as Shâh Nawâz Khân desires and pay the tribute for Trichinopoly, etc., according to agreement, he shall receive Arcot. As regards the money owed you by Muzaffar Jang, Chandâ Sâhib must pay you in return for receiving Trichinopoly, etc. Muzaffar Jang's bond must be returned and his family sent away to him. If you agree to this and write accordingly, they will send a Maratha noble with a letter. In order to convince you of this, I have brought letters from Shâh Nawâz Khân, and the villages mortgaged to you for money lent to Chandâ Sâhib shall be put into your possession.' The Governor replied that Shâh Nawâz Khân must give a written promise to deliver Arcot to Chandâ Sâhib on his departure in five or six months' time, when he had settled the rent.

Jayarâm Pandit replied that they disliked giving a written promise but that they would declare their willingness to lease the subah if he behaved to their satisfaction, in order to be at liberty should he act otherwise. The Governor replied, 'The Tanjore affair cannot be settled now for the Cauvery, the Coleroon and their canals are full of water; it can only be taken in January. Till then the management of the Tanjore peshkash must be left to Chandâ Sâhib; if the Tanjore people learnt that I intended to occupy it, they would apply to the English, Dutch, etc., grant them territory, obtain their assistance and take precautions, so that we should lose many, and fail to take the fort. For that purpose, I need not ask for your help; I can take it myself; but lands round Kârikâl must be given me to meet the cost of maintaining troops, supplying powder, shot, etc., and to compensate the loss of life.' Jayarâm Pandit said that they had made up their minds to seize Tanjore and grant it out. The Governor replied that Nâsîr Jang could not take it even with the whole of his army. Jayarâm Pandit admitted it, but said that Shâh Nawâz Khân wished himself to be considered the captor of the fort even though the French actually conquered it. The Governor replied, 'I will take the fort and give an account of the cost. I shall be satisfied with

lands equal to the cost of the expedition.' Jayarâm Pandit agreed that this was just.

He added, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân is hard pressed for money. He has even stopped the naubat. He is required to pay at once 80 lakhs of rupees due from Anwar-ud-dîn Khân for the subah of Arcot. As Muhammad 'Alî Khân is to receive Arcot, Mahfuz Khân says that he will do nothing but turn faqîr and go to Mecca.[1] So he has sent his elephants, horses, etc., to Muhammad 'Alî Khân and is preparing to go. Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Saiyid Sharîf Khân, Sultânji, etc., have marched with 20,000 horse. Râmachandra Râo (Râjâ Chandrasênan's son) has sent his troops in advance and is remaining with only a few men. 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah and the other Pathan Nawâbs have done the same. So Nâsîr Jang cannot stay here long, but must soon depart. That is why he is in haste.' The Governor said, 'What! Are they angry with Nâsîr Jang? or why should they have gone?' He replied, 'All in the camp but Shâh Nawâz Khân, Khâzi Dâyem and Morô Pandit want

[1] Mahfuz Khân had been made prisoner at Ambûr, but had made his peace by promising to pay Muzaffar Jang 11 lakhs for the Trichinopoly country (Vol. VI, pp. 155 and 292). He had at once joined Nâsîr Jang on the latter's arrival, and apparently was disgusted by the little attention paid to him. His pilgrimage to Mecca however was a mere feint. He remained in the camp, and in 1751 accompanied Muzaffar Jang to the northward.

to overthrow Nâsîr Jang. Not a single one else supports him.'—'In the cannonade on Saturday, April 3 or 4, when you attacked Muzaffar Jang [ ].'

Thursday, May 28.[1]—At nine o'clock to-night the marriage procession of Muttu Alagappa Chetti's daughter took place. I accompanied it as far as the grass bazaar. Then, having taken leave of the marriage party, I visited Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib (Dastgîr Sâhib's son) who is living at the Sunguvâr's godown; and then came home. Siddhî Khân (son of Sattâr Khân, the old killedar of Gingee) visited me. Then Shaikh Sâhib and Ayyâkannu Chetti of Porto Novo came and took leave.

Then a man came running, and said that the Palli head-peon, Chinnatambi, and two Company's peons had seized and imprisoned in the Nayinâr's house, under pretence of the Governor's orders, four of the dancing-girls attached to the Kâlahasti Îswaran temple and who were following the procession.[2] When I was in the pandal near the nut-godown on the evening of Monday, May 25, Chinna Parasurâma Pillai, the broker Appu, Alagappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, Muruga Pillai and

[1] *18th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

[2] From a subsequent passage, it appears that these dancing-girls belonged to the left-hand castes. The procession was that of a left-hand caste wedding.

Kadâkumaran[1] complained to me that whenever they passed along the Chetti Street on their way to a marriage, the dancing-girls never rose in their honour, as was the former custom, and they said that, if these were taught to show due respect, I should be honoured as a reformer of manners. I replied, 'If that was the custom of old, how has it fallen now into disuse? I will send for them, question them and let you know.' So saying I sent for Nallatambi Arunâchala Chetti and questioned him. He said, 'Only a few persons were given that mark of respect,—not all. I do not know what took place at Muttu Alagappa Chetti's house. I will enquire and let you know to-morrow.' So saying he went home. Arunâchala Chetti also said that he would inform Chinna Parasurâma Pillai and others of the right-hand castes to-morrow. I also told them to come. They observed, 'We used to be invited to dances, and we used to go and receive *pân supârî*. But this is done no longer. They[2] used to dance at Arumpâtai Pillai's[3] house at Pongal but they have ceased to do so. Besides they frequent other right-hand caste people. Do the right-hand caste dancing-girls publicly frequent left-

[1] Apparently all right-hand caste people.
[2] Left-hand caste dancing-girls.
[3] The Pillais belong to the right-hand castes.

hand caste people? They only do so in secret.[1] To-night is the auspicious time fixed for the marriage. What can be done if the matter is put off?' I replied, 'Things must be managed in a friendly way. The right-hand caste people cannot be allowed to claim this as of right. Else why should castes be divided between the right-hand and the left? How can this be allowed if it causes strife? I have never seen such a thing in all the 30 years I have lived here, and how can it be permitted now? The others have gone away saying that they will come to-morrow. You can do the same.' So saying I dismissed them. But they said, 'You are protector of the right-hand castes, and what you grant none will resist.' I replied, 'I desire you to enjoy all you have a right to. But the other side must be heard also. Then only can due judgment be given, or it may be settled by arbitrators. Anyhow, they have said that they will come to-morrow. I will hear what they have to say and do what is necessary. So come to-morrow.' So saying, I dismissed them, and they departed.

Friday, May 29.[2]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if there was news from Nâsîr Jang's camp. I said, 'I hear that

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[1] The right-hand castes claimed superiority over the left-hand castes.

[2] *19th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

on Tuesday Morô Pandit and Muhammad 'Alî Khân (Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son) went to the fort of Wandiwash, and promised Taqî Sâhib to settle his affair for 9 lakhs of rupees and to present him to Nâsîr Jang. Nâsîr Jang agreed to see him the next day. He was therefore to visit him on Wednesday. When Muhammad 'Alî Khân went into the Wandiwash fort and spoke with Taqî Sâhib, it was agreed and confirmed by an oath of friendship that Muhammad 'Alî Khân should be appointed the subahdar of Arcot and Taqî Sâhib his dîwân. Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Morô Pandit were given a dress of honour and a large Achin horse each. Having received these presents, they brought Taqî Sâhib to visit Nâsîr Jang.'—'Has Chandâ Sâhib heard any news?' the Governor asked. 'Nothing more than I have related,' I replied. 'What does he say to it?' he asked. 'What can he say?' I answered; 'He says that Nâsîr Jang has received nine or ten lakhs of rupees besides money for darbâr expenses; whereas if Taqî Sâhîb had given him a quarter or a fifth of this, he would have prevented Nâsîr Jang's ever coming south. Chandâ Sâhib made Taqî Sâhib master of the whole country,—whereby he gained some ten lakhs of rupees, but gave nothing to Chandâ Sâhib, and would not even let him have five or ten thousand rupees when

he was hard pressed for money; so Taqî Sâhib has played false in all ways, making money for himself, giving money to Nâsîr Jang, and even assisting to overthrow Chandâ Sâhib. He says that you have helped him as though you had been his father and mother, so much that his obligations to you eat into his heart.' —'That is perfectly true,' the Governor said.

He then asked me if Jayarâm Pandit knew of this. I said I believed he was present when the matter was discussed. 'What did he say?' the Governor asked. 'He says,' I replied, 'that, if [Taqî Sâhib] had not visited Nâsîr Jang, the latter would have quitted Wandiwash for Arcot, granted Arcot to Chandâ Sâhib and marched away; but that though [Chandâ Sâhib's] brother-in-law, the Navâits and Mîr Asad had ruined the affair, nevertheless they feared the Governor-General Sâhib of Pondichery, and that he believed their terror of the French would still secure Arcot for Chandâ Sâhib and release for Muzaffar Jang.' The Governor agreed, and asked if Jayarâm Pandit would reach Wandiwash to-day. I replied that he would only get there to-morrow.

Then the Second and other Councillors came. The Governor dressed, asked them to attend him, and went to the Council hall on the west. The Council broke up at half-past ten and all went home.

The Governor afterwards sent for me and giving me a broad Tanjore girdle of gold, in twenty-four parts, each set with precious stones, desired to have it valued. He also said, 'The renters owe a year and a half's rent and there is no money for the monthly pay; so order them to pay, and, if they fail, imprison them in the Choultry.' I agreed, went to my office, and sent Vîrâ Nâyakkan to tell Kâlavây Kumara Pillai, Kâmiyappa Mudali of Olukarai, etc., about it.

I gave the girdle to Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti to be shown to Uttirâ Peddu Chetti and Mârgasahâya Chetti for valuation. I then came home.

Details of the valuation written by Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti, Peddu Chetti and Mârga-[sahâya] Chetti this afternoon :—

	Pagodas
A broad gold girdle, in sections, set with precious stones, weighing	180
210 small diamonds weighing 30 manjâdis at 5 pagodas a manjâdi	150
10 rubies in the middle	15
180 small rubies	36
160 small rubies	4
100 emeralds weighing 25 ratis at 1½ pagodas *per* rati	37½
96 small emeralds weighing 12 ratis at 1 pagoda *per* rati	12
Gold weighing 143¾ pagodas (deducting 20 pagodas' weight of lac) at 1¼ pagodas *per* pagoda weight. Total cost of gold ...	180
Total ...	434½

Thus Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti, Mârgasahâya Chetti and others valued the girdle.

At six o'clock this evening I and Madanânda Pandit took the jewel to the Governor who was in the central hall, gave it to him, and reported its valuation at 430 pagodas at 320 rupees. The Governor said that 3,000 rupees was asked for it, and inquired what was its value in rupees. I said, 1,376 rupees. Thereupon the Governor told me not to mention the value to M. Duplan if he should ask me. I said that I should never do so without his orders, and gave back the jewel. He looked at it and said that it only contained small stones without a single one of any value. I said that jewellery was often like that, and that valuable stones were not often for sale, though many were to be had when Chandâ Sâhib took Trichinopoly. He said that he had heard so himself.

Dôst Muhammad (Muzaffar Khân's vakîl) came and said that a sepoy who had gone to Chêtpattu reported that Mîr Asad, who had visited Nâsîr Jang's camp, had fled thence with two servants to the Chêtpattu fort and that he had seen him there. The Governor rejoiced at this and [asked] if it was true. The other said that it must be true, for it had been reported by one of his own sepoys. The Governor asked why he should have fled.

Dôst [Muhammad] replied, 'The treasure of Safdar 'Alî Khân is there. It is not known what passed during Taqî Sâhib's visit to camp, but they say that he fled in consequence of what was said there.' The Governor continued, 'Every one knows that Mîr Asad has Safdar 'Alî Khân's treasure. That cannot be the reason. As Nâsîr Jang was about to march, and as he had shown no favour to Mîr Asad, the latter feared that he might be asked for his accounts, and so fled. Nâsîr Jang distrusts all the killedars and will imprison them.'

The Governor then sent for M. Duplan and ordered Tyâgu to bring the girdle and place it on a chair. He and M. Duplan looked at it and discussed its value. I and Madanânda Pandit went to my office.

I then sent for Subbayyan, and told him to go to Chandâ Sâhib and ask if he had heard of Mîr Asad's flight. When Subbayyan asked him, he said, 'Taqî Sâhib visited Nâsîr Jang, and having taken leave of him yesterday morning, returned to the fort of Wandiwash, on which many guns were fired from the fort and festivities held. He visited every house except my wife's, enquiring after the welfare of all, and congratulating them. My wife has written to me about it with great displeasure. I think Nâsîr Jang sets out to-morrow for Arcot, stays there five or six days, determines

the Arcot appointment and then proceeds to Hyderabad.' Subbayyan added that, as he was coming away, the Sâhib's son who was upstairs called him and told him he had heard of Mîr Asad's flight from a Fort St. David Brâhman and that the news must be true. He returned therefore to Chandâ Sâhib but the latter did not believe the story.

A messenger with a letter from Muzaffar Jang to his family reports that the Wandiwash affair has been settled, that Taqî Sâhib has returned to his fort, and that Nâsîr Jang marched to-day. He set out this morning with the letter and has just arrived. I desired him to tell Hâji Fâzil to bring the letter to-morrow, and so dismissed him. He said he had brought letters for Hâji Fâzil, Chandâ Sâhib and the Governor, and that Hâji Fâzil should bring the letter to-morrow, so that the matter could be discussed. I told him to come back to-morrow morning and dismissed him.

When I went to the Governor this morning, he said nothing about the imprisonment last night of the left-hand caste dancing-girls or the complaints of the right-hand caste people that the dancing-girls did not show respect by standing up in their presence; so I said nothing either, as he had ordered their imprisonment. I do not know why he said nothing. I must find out his intention before

I say anything. I shall find out from his conversation to-morrow.

When I had taken food at two o'clock this afternoon, the left-hand caste people came in a body and said, 'Last night we complained of the injustice that has been done; and a ceremony this morning prevented us from coming to you then; so we have come now. We have documents signed at an assembly in M. Martin's time recording the privileges of the right and left-hand caste people, and we will bring them. Please wait till then.' I dismissed them, saying they might do so, that I would read the papers and inform the Governor, but that four respectable persons had better come instead of a crowd. They returned at half-past eleven to-night with the documents drawn up in M. Martin's time, the temple agreement drawn up in *Sârvari*,[1] that drawn in M. Lenoir's time permitting *Pârvêttai*[2], that allowing the left-hand people's horses and palankins to pass along the Râjâ Street and certain streets common to both, and finally that drawn up in the present Governor's time cancelling the original deed and substituting another. After reading these

[1] 1720.

[2] A festival, celebrated by a procession of the images of the Gods, on the last day of Dasara. The procession always proceeds to a point outside the town (or village), and is said to be connected with the ancient custom of beginning military campaigns on that day.

documents, I told them that they did not touch the point and that they had better consult Ponnayyar. They replied, 'If we disobey ancient custom, we shall merit blame, fines and punishment. But how is it just to change customs, and imprison our people without sending for us and making enquiry? Those who accuse us of violating custom should be imprisoned and fined. In future right-hand caste people shall not ride on elephants, etc., without our permission, and we also will right ourselves if their dancing-girls do not show us due respect. Else we will leave the town. We are blameless and have kept entirely within our rights; no enquiry has been made and yet—an unheard-of thing—on the very day of the procession our dancing-girls have been seized and imprisoned because some one complains he was treated with disrespect. An enquiry should have been held and the guilty punished. But if instead men seek to establish what has never been heard of in this town, and the Governor does as they desire, we will go where we shall be respected. What are the limits assigned to the right and left-hand castes and why have such limits been established?' Thus they stated their grievances. Reflecting that no definite decision could be given, I said, 'Leave off argument and consider what can be done. If you will come

to the Governor two at a time, I will ask him to enquire and settle the matter. This is the utmost I can do.' So saying I dismissed them. I could easily have told them where justice lay, but refrained, knowing who were at the bottom of the case and wishing to avoid needless dissatisfaction. They went away saying that they would consider and return. Who can settle anything when such injustice is done in the town? This city is not yet destined to prosperity, and until God wills it, what efforts can bring it to pass?

Saturday, May 30.[1]—This morning Hâji Fâzil brought to the Governor Muzaffar Jang's letter written from Nâsîr Jang's camp. The Governor looked at it, and desired me to report its contents to him, from Madanânda Pandit's reading. Madanânda Pandit read to the following effect:—'I am now in the severest custody and I fear I shall never escape with my life; and even if I did, what could I do? If therefore you will protect my mother, wife and children, maintain them, and suffer them to dwell in the shrine of your presence, it is well; otherwise, take what they have, and send them here with only their raiment for them to share my imprisonment. I am drowned in an ocean of sorrows and I swear

[1] *20th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

by my mother, son and wife that none but you can save me. This is the truth.'

Thus the letter betrayed the writer's terror. When I accordingly reported the contents, the Governor said, 'He has lost his wits in prison, else he would never have written so.' Hâji Fâzil said that must be true. He then asked the camp news. Hâji Fâzil replied that the army had marched yesterday from Wandiwash to Arcot.

The following news came at six o'clock this evening :—

Yesterday Nâsîr Jang's troops marched from Wandiwash to Purisai. Taqî Sâhib has settled affairs for nine lakhs of rupees (five to be paid by himself and four by Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Pôlûr). He promised Nâsîr Jang to make Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Pôlûr swear to be friends with Anwar-ud-dîn's son and abandon Chandâ Sâhib ; otherwise he should be delivered up to be dealt with as Nâsîr Jang pleased. Nâsîr Jang agreed, and desired 'Alî Naqî Sâhib to remain in camp and Taqî Sâhib to depart to his killa. On his return he told Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Pôlûr to pay four lakhs of rupees and to swear to help Muhammad 'Alî Khân (son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân) ; but Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Pôlûr replied that he could neither find the money nor swear to join Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son, a

stranger, against Chandâ Sâhib, his brother by blood ; that, even if he swore to do so, he could not carry it out, that he would not promise what was impossible and so perjure himself and shorten his days. He was then sent to Nâsîr Jang. The latter in anger demanded why he had neither visited him nor paid what he had agreed, and gave him into the custody of a Moghul jemadar of 300 horse with orders to treat him severely and not to suffer him even to eat unless he paid 300 rupees. Muhammad 'Alî Khân has written to Chandâ Sâhib, saying that he is being severely treated by the Moghul. Chandâ Sâhib desired me to report this to the Governor.

I informed the Governor accordingly. He said, 'Let Chandâ Sâhib tell him not to pay a single cash. [Nâsîr Jang] may halt ten or fifteen days and will then go away. So he need fear nothing. Tell Chandâ Sâhib not to mention this to any one.' I said I would tell him.

He then asked the news brought by the Coja who had arrived at Muzaffar Jang's house on horseback. I said, 'He reports that Nâsîr Jang has left Wandiwash, and will reach Arcot in four days, that he will feast there for nine days to celebrate Muzaffar Jang's capture and then proceed to Hyderabad ; if the river is too high to cross, he will halt in

the Mysore country. He will bestow a dress of honour on Muzaffar Jang before he goes and Muzaffar Jang is now less closely imprisoned.' Thereon the Governor told me to send for him. He came, and replied to the Governor's questions as follows :—

'Nâsîr Jang intends to feast at Arcot for nine days, give a dress of honour to Muzaffar Jang and then proceed to Hyderabad, halting at Sîrpi and elsewhere if the river is too high to cross. There is no other news.' The Governor then asked if he had heard of the subah's being granted to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. He replied, 'It is true that such a grant has been made for the present; but I hear that, when Muzaffar Jang has paid his dues, he will receive the subah. Mîr Asad's supposed influence over Nâsîr Jang merely consists in his carrying tales to him against the killedars and getting money from them for Nâsîr Jang; he will be in danger of his life once the killedars' dues have been paid just as the torch that lights a funeral pile is itself consumed.'

The Governor then asked if he had seen or spoken to Muzaffar Jang and how he was. He replied, 'When Muzaffar Jang was suffering much from an abscess under the arm, Nâsîr Jang visited him, and said that, when he was imprisoned by his father, he suffered much for

a whole year, but that Muzaffar Jang had been very differently treated ; and he asked him why he was so low after but twenty days ; promised him that he should soon be at liberty ; and encouraged him, reminding him that he was given all he wanted, and that he could eat in peace. Then he departed. After this he was not ill-treated. Four servants and six attenders were directed to wait on him, and the guards and dalayets, etc., were withdrawn. Quarters have been prepared, and servants appointed to admit the nobles and others who wish to visit him. He now lives at ease.'—'Did you visit him?' the Governor asked. He answered that he had. He added that Saiyid Lashkar Khân, Jamîl Bêg Khân and others who had gone in advance had been ordered not to advance too far, and that consequently those who were at Arcot, Lâlâpêttai, Punnai and thereabouts had halted. He was then asked what Mahfuz Khân was doing. He replied that he had become a faqîr with the purpose of visiting Mecca but that he was now delaying because Nâsîr Jang had held out hopes of giving him the subah when Muhammad 'Alî Khân had paid his dues. The Governor then asked if Mîr Asad had fled. He replied that he had seen him the day before yesterday and knew no reason why he should have fled. It was then half-

past eight, so water was brought for the Governor to wash his hands before supper. He therefore gave him leave and he went to the house where Muzaffar Jang's women were. I went to the nut-godown.

M. du Bocage, Captain of the ship fitted out in Bengal,[1] which reached the Pondichery roads but has been prevented from sailing for Jeddah, sailed to-day for Bengal with M. de Glainville, son of the Governor's sister, as super-cargo.[2] She landed 600 or 700 bales of cloth intended for Jeddah and 150 candies of sugar, which she replaced with salt. She will take in more salt at Covelong, proceed to Bengal, return in September, and then, having taken in the goods landed here, will sail for Jeddah. Father Cœurdoux, the Superior of St. Paul's Church, sailed on her for Bengal. Râjêndraswâmi, who was here before, has become the Superior. All say that he is good and wishes well to all.[3]

When the Governor returned from mass, I went and spoke with him. He asked where

[1] She was the *Bon Voyage*.

[2] He was appointed to the Company's service at the age of 21 (Company to the Council, Nov. 25, 1741, *P.R.* No. 5). He was stationed in Bengal at this time (*Arch. des Col.* C² 15), and died at Mocha in the following year (*Corres. de Pondichéry avec Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 166).

[3] Ranga Pillai seems mistaken in sending Father Cœurdoux to Bengal at this time. See *Rev. Hist., de l'Inde Française*, 1918, p. 210. I have not been able to ascertain what Jesuit father adopted the name of Râjêndraswâmi; but the adoption of such names seems not to have been unusual.

Nâsîr Jang was. I replied, 'There is a large tope with a tank and a bungalow near Kalavai. I hear that he will halt there to-day and that Safdar Husain Khân, the Killedar, will entertain him, after which he will proceed to Arcot to-morrow. This is one piece of news. I also hear that, after halting at Arcot, he will go to Sîrpi and those parts but nothing is certainly known.'—'I believe so,' the Governor said, and after talking about other matters, he added, '*Tôranams* must be tied in the Tiruviti, Panruti and Villupuram countries; and the mortgage amounts for Chidambaram and Bhuvanagiri must be got from Muhammad Khân.' I replied, 'Ready money can be got from the latter only; no reliance can be placed on the former. Muhammad Khân is wealthy, so we can easily get money from him if we send a few soldiers with a mortar.' The Governor said this should be done, and directed me to remind him to-morrow. I replied that I had all that was necessary and went to the nut-godown.

At six o'clock this evening, Chandâ Sâhib's Brâhman, Râghava Pandit, brought a slip of paper, two fingers broad, containing four or five lines of Marathi which he read to Madanânda Pandit as follows :—'I cannot describe the difficulties that Taqî Sâhib is causing. He is making me leave the fort at once. I shall

do as you order.' Thus he read the letter from Chandâ Sâhib's wife. He added, 'I cannot describe the troubles caused by Taqî Sâhib and others who are making our people leave the fort. No one is allowed to visit Chandâ Sâhib's wife, nor are her people allowed to go out. The rude words with which he ordered her to leave the fort are indescribable.' Such was the message Chandâ Sâhib sent by Râghava Pandit. When the Governor returned at six o'clock from hearing mass at the Capuchins' Church, I took Râghava Pandit and Madanânda Pandit, and reported the news. The Governor said that she should not leave the fort, however troublesome Taqî Sâhib might be. We told Râghava Pandit. The Governor was surprised at Taqî Sâhib's thus treating Chandâ Sâhib; and abusing the former, dismissed Râghava Pandit. We took leave and went to the nut-godown.

The Governor has never asked about the left-hand caste dancing-girls' imprisonment three days ago or the right-hand caste people's complaints of their lack of respect. So I have said nothing. I now hear that he is asking why the left-hand caste people have not brought money for their release, as he was told they would. The lame Nayinâr recommended that two or three of Arunâchala Chetti's concubines should be imprisoned. So

the concubines of Arunâchala Chetti and others were imprisoned this afternoon. Arunâchala Chetti feels as though he had lost his head ; never has such grief been seen. Arunâchala Chetti has caused this trouble, by complaining that the dancing-girls at the marriage in Muttu Alagappa Chetti's house had not stood up in his presence, hoping thereby to disgrace Muttu Alagappa Chetti and make him obedient. He then boasted of what he had done, but when his adored concubines were imprisoned, he was more grieved and ashamed than if it had been his wife. The proverb says, 'According to the prosperous the world is flourishing, but according to the poor it is going to ruin.' The truth of this saying is shown by Arunâchala Chetti. Before his concubines were imprisoned, his joy was boundless, but now his grief is indescribable. Both the one and the other were written on his countenance. Now he is anxious to speak to the Governor at once, have his affair settled, and procure the release of the prisoners. The wise say that a man should not plot evil to others. What they had learnt by experience, they sang in verse. Such is the world. The prudent remembers that what must happen will happen on the appointed day, and feels no sorrow.

JUNE 1750.

Monday, June 1.[1]—At ten o'clock this morning, the Governor came out ready dressed. I had ascertained the camp news and told him that they would reach Arcot to-day. The Governor said, 'See what Taqî Sâhib has done. His wife and Chandâ Sâhib's are sisters,[2] and he got all he has from his father-in-law's house. Yet, caring nothing for honour, he has turned Chandâ Sâhib's wife out of the killa, and betrayed his brother-in-law, Muhammad 'Alî Khân.[3] How strange it is! Muzaffar Jang only wrote that he would come in order to induce us to agree to send 2,000 rupees for his expenses. He thought he could get money in no other way.' I said that I thought so too. He continued, 'I think Jayarâm Pandit came and promised to finish the business for the sake of getting 300 rupees. He may come again, boast in the same manner, and try to get some more.'—'Would you give him more?' I asked. He said nothing; so I went to the nut-godown.

In order to procure the release of M. Coquet (Chief of the French Company's factory at

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[1] *22nd Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*
[2] Both were daughters of Nawâb Dôst 'Alî Khân.
[3] *i.e.*, of Pôlûr.

Masulipatam) and others, a sloop (whose name I do not know) flying the *flamme-de-guerre* was despatched to-night with 4 cannon, 1,600 shot, sufficient powder, etc., 30 soldiers, 20 Topasses, and their officers, who were warned that M. Bury had been seized when he called there in his sloop, not knowing that our French were in prison and that his goods had been seized. They also received necessary instructions and the sloop will sail at dawn.[1]

Two peons arrived this evening from Masulipatam with a letter from M. Coquet to the Governor. M. Lenoir who was at Yânâm sailed for Bengal aboard his sloop with all the goods, 30 soldiers, etc., when Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân attacked the factory with his troops.[2] He left fifteen guns in the factory, besides 25 bales of cloth, chairs and other furniture, in charge of six peons. Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân's people broke in and encamped there ; so the peons came to Bunder and reported the matter to M. Coquet who has now written to the Governor.

[1] Ranga Pillai is mistaken regarding the destination of the sloop. She was sent with the detachment mentioned (under an officer named Plousquelet) to recover the Yânâm factory, which Lenoir had abandoned on the approach of the enemy. (Pondichery Council to the Company, September 20, 1750. *Arch. des Col.*)

[2] Lenoir did not sail at once for Bengal, but only withdrew to the mouth of the river, and there awaited Dupleix' orders. The 30 soldiers mentioned had been sent to Yânâm in 1749. Despite Nâsir Jang's orders that the French factories were not to be plundered, only the four walls of the Yânâm factory were left standing by the Moghul troops. (*Loc. cit.*)

Before this, M. Le Roy[1] was seized and imprisoned in Ellore and Rajahmundry, and he is still a prisoner, as such is God's will.

Tuesday, *June* 2.[2]—When I went to visit the Governor this morning, he asked if Nâsîr Jang had reached Arcot. I replied, 'Yes.' He continued, 'One of the Company's big elephants died yesterday; another died to-day; and I hear that a third is sick. What is the matter?' I replied, 'A large elephant belonging to Muzaffar Jang was with Shaikh Ibrâhîm and died yesterday. To-day one of Muzaffar Jang's elephants with Muzaffar Khân fell sick and is almost dead. I am in charge of Muzaffar Jang's elephants; and six of them are very ill. Lately cattle have been dying in the town in great numbers; and now elephants are being attacked.' Then Muzaffar Khân came. He was asked what the matter was and he replied that the wind was bad for the elephants. 'Is not this wind always prevalent?' he asked. I replied that it was a dry wind which would cease in a few days. Thereon the Governor asked if the sickness could have been caused by the grass or a snake-bite or something. I

[1] Appointed *Sous-commis* in 1740 (Company to Pondichery, November 9, 1740, *P.R.* No. 6). At this time he was serving in the Yânâm factory. He was one of the few servants on whom Dupleix reported favourably in 1750. (*Arch. des Col.*, C[2] 15.)
[2] *23rd Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta*

said that it was not, but that such diseases befell animals occasionally. 'True,' he said.

After this, Muzaffar Khân reminded the Governor of his promise to tell the merchants to give him 10,000 rupees' worth of cloth. The Governor told me to speak to the merchants about it; but his reply led me to believe that he wished to evade it. So I told Muzaffar Khân that I would speak to the merchants about it and let him know. After speaking with the Governor about Nâsîr Jang's camp news, I and Muzaffar Khân came away.

On the way, Muzaffar Khân handed me a list written in Portuguese and said that he wanted 4,000 rupees' worth of Salampores and long cloth for the sepoys' coats, 2,000 rupees' worth of coarse cloth for their trousers, and 2,000 rupees' worth of cloth for turbans.[1] I said that I would speak to the merchants, and, taking leave, went to my office.

The Governor sent for me at six o'clock this evening, and asked if any news had come from Arcot. I said that, as the troops marched by stages, no definite news would come, but that, if they had reached Arcot yesterday, news would come the day after to-morrow.

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[1] Perhaps it is worth noting that this shows (1) that the French sepoys were still wearing their traditional clothing, and (2) that their native commandants supplied them with it.

He then asked why the left-hand caste dancing-girls who were imprisoned for not standing up in the presence of the right-hand caste people, had not yet complained, although they had been six days in prison. I replied, 'They say they should have been sent for and the matter enquired into before any one was imprisoned; that what they did has always been the practice here, and that it was wrong to imprison them merely for behaving disrespectfully. They add, that if they had failed in respect, similar disrespect should have been shown to them; but instead of that a complaint was made to you, and they have been dishonoured. They have come to complain to you about it.' The Governor asked where they were. I said that they were near my office. He replied, 'I will do as they please. Now there is great difficulty in finding money for the sepoys as you know. If I give a note, will they give 20,000 rupees? I want nothing more. The affair may be forgotten. The left-hand caste people are Mahârâjâs, and can lend money. As soon as ships arrive from Europe, I will repay the principal with interest. Arrange this. As for the right-hand caste people, Arumpâtai has money which he cheated the Company of, but no one else has any.' I replied, 'There are one or two others who have money, but they will not give a single cash.

But they never interfere in matters which don't concern them.'—'True,' he said and repeated that I was to speak to the left-hand caste people. I therefore took leave, saying that I would ask both sides to appear before him to-morrow, and went to my office. I told the left-hand caste people that the Governor wished them to come to-morrow, and dismissed all but four, to whom I related what the Governor had hinted. They were alarmed, and said, 'Where can we find money? If justice is done, we will remain here; but otherwise we will depart, since the time has come for us neither to eat nor drink here.' When I explained how matters stood, they were somewhat pacified and said, 'What wealth have we? But we might make a small present. We will think over it.' So saying, they went away. I sent for the headman to tell the right-hand caste people to come to-morrow, and came home at nine o'clock.

Pâpu Reddi, the poligar who recently seized Turaiyûr, and Varadarâja Reddi, the newly appointed dalavâi, write as follows, after compliments :—The chief poligar and his younger brother's son, who was minister, were on ill-terms. Pâpu Reddi, the chief poligar who had fled, returned with troops, entered Turaiyûr, captured the fort, seized and imprisoned the minister who was exercising

authority in his father's place and appointed his own son. As Varadarâja Reddi helped Guruvindamâsi Reddi's sons, he has been given the title of dalavâi. Pâpu Reddi writes that he has the fort and the country, that the minister has fled to Udaiyârpâlaiyam and that he should not receive any assistance.[1] He desires 100 flint-locks to be purchased and sent him. I replied with letters of compliments.

Wednesday, June 3.[2]—At a council held this morning, it was resolved to lease out to me for five years the ten Kârikâl villages for 4,000 pagodas instead of 3,500 pagodas as before. The villages leased out to Kanakarâya Mudali were leased to his younger brother for five years for 3,700 pagodas instead of 3,500. As M. Delarche is the notary, he was called and ordered to write cowles for five years in our names. I and Tânappa Mudali then said, 'According to the former agreement, the year's rent was to be paid in two instalments, the first in the month of Kârttigai[3] and the second

[1] There seem to be three principal references to the Zemindari of Turaiyûr in the Oriental MSS. Library at Madras (*Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. III, p. 161, and *Local Records*, Vol. VIII, p. 330, and Vol. XLVII p. 120); but none throw any light on the incident here related.

[2] *24th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

[3] *i.e.*, November-December.

in Âni.[1] Let it now be written that the amount should be paid on January 31 and June 30.' The Governor said to M. Delarche, 'The Tamil custom is neither to keep money on hand, nor to leave it with other people. In Europe merchants keep 5 or 6 lakhs' worth of goods in stock and sell as much as a purchaser wants. Enter the dates as January and June.' Tânappa Mudali then proposed that the lease should be given for eight years. The Governor replied, 'The whole business of the farms is in your hands, so the leases may well be drawn for only three years.' After talking for some time longer, he took leave.

The Governor then said, '81 more villages have recently been added to Kârikâl. Find out what they can be rented for. I will lease them also.' I replied, 'You mentioned this before and I immediately wrote about it. I will do so again and inform you as soon as a reply comes.'

I think that many affairs must have been settled in council to-day. It was said this morning that all councillors except M. Le Maire were to be summoned by the chobdars. Moreover when a council of war was held eight or nine days ago, there were certain differences, and M. Duplan was appointed *Procureur du Roi*. So I suppose the council has

[1] *i.e.*, June-July. The *fasli* or revenue year begins in July.

closed, without deciding (as was rumoured) who was to be mint-master.[1]

The Governor then asked the news about Nâsîr Jang. I replied, 'There is a place called Punnai on the banks of the Pâlâr beyond Lâlâpêttai. I hear that his flag has been hoisted there and that he will halt for seven or eight days at Arcot.'

I reported that the right and left-hand caste people were in attendance. He asked what has been arranged regarding the matter he mentioned yesterday. I replied that they would make up their minds to-day. 'I will not see them,' he said, 'until they have.' I then went to the nut-godown, sent for both sides at noon, and, having told them that the Governor was busy and they might come again to-morrow, I came home at my usual meal-time.

When I was going to the washing place at half-past five this evening, I met Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah, the Turk, who accompanied M. Delarche and M. du Bausset on their embassy to Nâsîr

[1] The mutiny of d'Auteuil's officers received a certain amount of sympathy in Pondichery, just as happened at Calcutta in 1766 with Clive's mutinous officers. Their principal supporter was Le Maire, a councillor of eight years' standing, Mint-master and *Procureur du Roi*. Dupleix accused him in his latter capacity of having communicated secret documents to the accused, and refused to preside at any council where he should sit. Le Maire then resigned and went home in the following autumn. (Dupleix to the Company, October 3, 1750 *Arch. des Col.*)

Jang and who speaks ten or twelve languages.[1] The next day he was seized and imprisoned by Shâh Nawâz Khân but was afterwards released after having been put to much trouble. After travelling through Cuddapah, Nellore, Gangapatnam, Dugarazpattanam, and other inland towns and seaports, he proceeded to Pulicat, Madras and Sadras, and entered the Pondichery limits to-day. I met him when I was going to inspect the washing place. He had nothing but the clothes he stood up in. He said, 'I was suspected of having accompanied the ambassadors only in order to report the camp news to them; so I was imprisoned, ill-used and at last sent away. I went to Cuddapah and those parts and Nellore, and have at last reached this place by land (as said above). Vizier Mansûr 'Alî Khân's paternal uncle's son, Sher Jang, with a lakh of horse, has seized Burhanpur and other places belonging to Nâsir Jang. The Pâdshâh has given firmans to the killedars, mansabdars, jaghirdars, etc., there declaring that Sher Jang has been appointed subahdar of the Deccan, that those who assist and obey him will be confirmed in their respective places, but that the rest will be punished. So they have visited Sher Jang, the subahdar of Burhanpur, and obey his orders.

[1] See Vol. VI, p. 375 *supra.*

He may have taken Aurangabad by now. Nâsîr Jang does not know what to do about this; he raves like one possessed or drunk; and will not long enjoy his wealth. I am going to the Governor. Come with me so that we can discuss this at leisure. The Maratha horse have already plundered not only Nârâyanapêttai, Gundumattukâl and other pêttahs beyond the Kistna but also Cuddapah.' After relating this he took leave and went to the Governor. After inspecting the washing place, I returned to my office. When I went to the Governor's at six o'clock, the Turk who knows twelve languages also came and visited the Governor. When he was relating what is written above, the Governor sent for me. I went, and, after taking part in the conversation, returned to my office. A room near the Governor's kitchen which was used as a hospital for the sick, was given to him and he went there.

Friday, June 5.[1]—The Governor did not get up and dress till ten o'clock. He [asked] the news about Nâsîr Jang. I replied, 'He is encamped at Arcot with the whole of his army. They will see the moon to-day, it being the first of their month.[2] I hear that Nâsîr Jang will march on the 11th leaving Shâh Nawâz

[1] *26th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.* [2] *i.e., the 1st Rajab.*

Khân behind. Mahfuz Khân and Sampâti Râo boast that they will be given the joint management of the country, as Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who has obtained the subah, can do nothing so long as he is hated by the French and will only discredit his supporters. In the life-time of his father, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, he got a lease of Trichinopoly for 10 lakhs of rupees, and ruled many countries. He then amassed some 25 lakhs of rupees. With his pride and boastings, he persuaded Nâsîr Jang that the country would never be at peace unless he was entrusted with the revenues. Thereupon Nâsîr Jang promised to give him Arcot on condition of protecting it from the French. [Mahfuz Khan] objected that they wished to give Arcot to Chandâ Sâhib and would never join his brother, and so asked leave to go to Mecca. Nâsîr Jang then promised him the subah when he had received money from Muhammad 'Alî, recommending him and Sampâti Râo to offer the French even greater jaghirs than Chandâ Sâhib had given them, with further villages in inam, the payment of Chandâ Sâhib's and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's debts to them, and the continuation of the leases already made on yet more favourable terms, on condition of their no longer supporting Chandâ Sâhib, who could remain at Pondichery and should receive a jaghir and mansab. Accordingly Sampâti

Râo wrote to the amaldâr of Chingleput, Lâlâ Vîdi Chand, desiring him to speak to me. That Lâlâ is a sincere friend of mine. So he wrote to me about it. You know Sêshâdri Pillai, my father-in-law, the poligar of Chingleput. Sampâti Râo also wrote to him, asking him to write to me. He has done so. This is the news.'

On this the Governor observed that the grant of Arcot to Muhammad 'Alî Khân could not have been settled yet. I replied, 'I spoke of it eight days ago. This is true news. For fear of you, nobody dares to accept the subah, and all have declined it. This confirms what I told you before, that Nâsîr Jang has been prudent enough to decide to make peace with you and depart, taking with him Muzaffar Jang's children.' He admitted that, and directed me to write to Lâlâ Vîdi Chand and my father-in-law that Sampâti Râo's letters were false. He told me to report their answers.

I then said, 'Mudâmiah of Chidambaram is collecting all his money and property and sending it to Devikôttai. Periya Perumâl Pillai is his agent and is entrusted with all the accounts. He is doing what he pleases. The whole of the Chidambaram country and even Mudâmiah himself fear him. The nâttârs of Chidambaram, and others complained to Mudâmiah that he had made five or six lakhs by

plundering them, and produced accounts and witnesses. Then 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah[1] growing angry with Mudâmiah and Periya Perumâl Pillai refused their presents (goods, tent materials, etc.) and in his anger resolved to remove them, examine their accounts, place them under guards, and seal up their houses. News has now come that Mudâmiah is therefore removing his goods and money to Devikôttai under the protection of the English. If a few soldiers and sepoys be sent with a couple of mortars, the amounts due on the Chidambaram mortgage, the Bhuvanagiri lease and his occupation of the Venkatâmpêttai country after Nâsîr Jang's coming may be recovered; but if he escapes to Devikôttai under the English, it will be difficult to do so.' The Governor thereupon told me to write a letter in his name, and said that soldiers and sepoys should be sent to seize him when a reply had been received. I replied, 'I have already written him five or six letters, but he has taken no notice of them. Further delay would be unwise, so a letter should be written in your name.' He then told me to write as follows:—'I am astonished that you have taken no notice of Ranga Pillai's letters. You do not

[1] The Nawâb of Cuddapah held Chidambaram and appointed the faujdar of the place. See *Calendar of the Madras Records*, 1740—44, p. 19.

understand the harm that you will thereby suffer. But I bear all with patience and write this to you remembering that you have long been a friend of the French. Therefore send the money due by the accounts, and let our friendship increase. Or will you only pay when your country and your town have been seized and your people and yourself put to great trouble? Write which you prefer and I will act accordingly.' When I had written and sealed the letter, I asked if it was to be despatched. He said, yes. So I gave the letter to a peon.

This evening a letter was delivered to the Governor from M. Coquet at Masulipatam. News had already been received that M. Lenoir who was at the factory at Yânâm had gone to Bengal, with all the goods, men and a few guns. The present news is that he has not gone to Bengal but that he is on an island situated north-east of Yânâm in the Godavari, where there is a garden belonging to Mrityunjayan who serves under Kâma Râjâ of the warehouse. There they found refuge during the late Maratha invasion in these parts; the island is a league distant and M. Lenoir and others are there.

I hear M. Coquet writes that 12,000 rupees have been exacted from the merchants, that Mattâlnarasu is being asked for five or ten

thousand rupees to be sent to Nâsîr Jang, that he himself is being asked to pay 15,000 pagodas, but that the amaldârs tremble and say that they have behaved foolishly and that the French will come and burn or destroy the whole country; and the merchants fear the town will never regain its former prosperity.

Saturday, *June 6.*[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked the news. Then Shaikh Hasan, Dôst Muhammad and Shaikh Ibrâhîm came. Shaikh Hasan got a bill of exchange from the Governor for 2,000 rupees for his people at Mahé, and Shaikh Ibrâhîm got another for 500 rupees.[2] The Governor then asked Shaikh Hasan if he had heard any news from Arcot about Nâsîr Jang. He replied, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân has submitted a writing to the effect that he fears that he will not be able to manage the sûbah of Arcot. Thereupon Nâsîr Jang grew angry and asked why he had said he could manage it, thereby obtaining a dress of honour. He now demands a fine of three lakhs of rupees and has cancelled the grant. It is now said Muhammad 'Alî Khân has dismissed his troops. This is what my sepoys report from camp.'

Khâlif Khân's son, Asad Muhammad Khân, has received a letter from Timiri saying

[1] *27th Vaigâsi*, *Pramôdûta.*

[2] *Quere*, levy-money for recruits.

that Shâh Nawâz Khân will remain at Arcot, that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's authority is not to be recognised, and that Chandâ Sâhib will be Nâib. Every one is speaking of this.

As I was about to report this to the Governor, M. Delarche brought the cowles for the Kârikâl villages leased to me and Tânappa Mudali, and asked us both to sign. The Governor signed them after us, and then the Councillors. M. Delarche afterwards said jokingly that he would give us copies of them for a hundred rupees each. Tânappa Mudali said that it was not possible and that he had paid nothing before; but I said that something must be given because we had to ask him about the rent, etc., and that he should go to him to-morrow. I then said to M. Delarche, 'You have drawn up the lease deed for five years, and we will therefore send something to please you. We have to learn certain things from you and we will visit you.'

I then told Madanânda Pandit to read Asad Muhammad Khân's letter and asked M. Delarche to translate the Persian into French. M. Delarche did so; and the Governor talked with him about various matters.

Father François then came and the Governor spoke with him. I therefore went to my office and M. Delarche went home.

M. Demouresne [?], the Governor's butler, has presented a complaint to Madame that when two months ago Chilka Râmabhadra Reddi drove off about 1,000 cattle, he also took 6 or 7 of his, that he expected the money to be paid by the Company, but that nothing had been paid, that every one said that the cattle had been driven off by her order and that therefore she should be asked about it. Madame is said to be very angry at her name being mentioned, and to have ordered the man to be put in irons and imprisoned at the choultry ; but when she learnt that the cattle had been driven off by the Nayinâr, she ordered the irons to be removed and the [other] to be imprisoned. [The Nayinâr ?] says that he is not to blame, for by her orders the chobdar came to him with the cattle, that he therefore could do nothing and only obeyed her orders. He adds that Krishnâ Reddi who carried off the cattle is in Villiyanallûr, and that he should be asked why he gave false messages, and punished for driving off the townspeople's cattle ; and he asked her why he should be imprisoned. She replied that he should have said that the cattle were driven off by the Governor's orders and ordered him to be imprisoned for his carelessness.

At half-past eleven the Governor sent for me and said, 'Capitan Dom Luis de Almeida,

the Portuguese[1], has written from Goa for certain goods. Get them ready accordingly.' I said I would do so and came away.

The Governor sent for me again this evening and asked if there was any news. I replied that there was nothing fresh.

He spoke contemptuously of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's business mentioned this morning, and asked why the merchants, etc., had not yet returned, though all had seen so great a man as Nâsîr Jang obliged to retreat and the town left in peace. As I could not say that people feared to come here on account of his tolerating Madame's injustice, and as I had to satisfy him, I said that those who had gone away already knew their gain and loss, and would soon return. He agreed.

Madanânda Pandit remarked [to me]:—'God has been pleased to make his glory shine over the earth like the sun; and if he ruled with justice, the town would be at peace. But owing to the misdeeds committed here, peons, Pallis, jungle-fellows, scavengers and Pariahs go in their palankins and exercise authority; so how can the town be happy or peaceful? But if the town is fortunate, those now in power will fall, great men will enjoy

[1] The Viceroy of Goa at this time was Dom Pedro Miguel de Almeida, Marquez d'Alorna. Perhaps the individual mentioned was a relative of his.

their proper position, their words will be obeyed, and there will be prosperity." As I know him well I replied indifferently.

Sunday, June 7.[1]—On his return from hearing mass this morning, the Governor drank coffee. When he came out, I reported the contents of the cadjan letter from Krishnâji who accompanied Jayarâm Pandit. 'Nâsîr Jang is living at Arcot with his family in Chandâ Sâhib's house built on the river bank. Muzaffar Jang and others are at Shâh Nawâz Khân's and Safdar 'Alî Khân's houses. The other nobles are halting at various places. He will halt for 11 days at Arcot, and then march away. Muhammad 'Alî Khân said that he could manage Arcot if he were allowed to maintain 10,000 horse and receive all the collections, but not otherwise. Nâsîr Jang then asked why he had said at first that he could manage it and thus obtained a dress of honour. Muhammad 'Alî Khân replied that he had agreed because the English had promised to help him but as Nâsîr Jang had refused to grant them the Poonamallee and Devanâmpattanam countries and Mylapore as inam, the English were dissatisfied and had departed, so that he had no one's help to oppose the French and meet them in battle. On this Nâsîr Jang in

[1] *28th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*

anger put dalayets on him, and demanded the arrears due from his father. Jayarâm Pandit asked Shâh Nawâz Khân to write to Pondichery; but the latter replied that he would settle the business for which the former had come, and that he might therefore live in peace.'

When I reported this, the Governor asked why Jayarâm Pandit had not written. I replied, 'Can he write about his journey and arrival? He will only write when the matter is settled, and meanwhile has asked our man with him to write.' I added, 'Nâsîr Jang will not pass the Kistna or remain at Arcot. He will pass the rainy season at Sîrpi, etc.'

M. St. Paul then came to the Governor. Tânappa Mudali also came. Chinna Parasurâman had complained to M. St. Paul that Âsârappa Mudali owed him a hundred pagodas; and others had made similar complaints. M. St. Paul reported this to the Governor; so he sent for me and asked why the matter had not been settled. I replied, 'It took long time to decide that the disputed sum was a bride-gift.[1] It consisted of jewels and ready money; and these had to be divided. A small part has been divided, but they would not agree about the rest, and proposed to petition you. Hence

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[1] See Vol. VI, pp. 336-337 *supra*

the delay, as you were not at leisure. It was then proposed to the Second that M. Delârche, etc., might be appointed arbitrators; but it all ended in nothing, so they came and asked what would be the best time to petition you. I told them to come next Monday.'

The Governor then said to Tânappa Mudali, 'What is all this, Lazar? Why have you delayed the division?' He answered, 'I have given them Âsârappan's goods but his father's have not yet been delivered.' Thereupon the Governor asked how many pagodas had been paid on account of Âsârappan's affair. He replied, 'About 1,500 pagodas.' The Governor said that Europeans could not arbitrate and that Tamils were the best judges of their own customs. I explained that the matter could not be decided until the opposite party had been heard, and that I would ask him to come to-morrow, and clear the matter up. As we were thus talking, Chinna Parasurâman drew near the Governor and muttered that Âsârappan had owed him 400 pagodas. The Governor only answered that a complaint had been made.

Chinna Parasurâman who generally stands trembling at a distance like a dog, then went up to the Governor boldly and spoke to him familiarly because four days ago he lent the Governor some money and is prepared to do the same again. Besides, he is emboldened by having

been allowed to imprison the dancing-girls during the marriage at Muttu Alagappa Chetti's house for not rising in his honour. The nature of the mean and of the magnanimous is revealed in their familiar actions. He whose daily business runs to lakhs of money, regards these things as a mere mosquito-bite; he who seldom handles money is intoxicated with delight at bestowing a little on another. But next day he is kept at a distance and beaten with slippers. Such is the nature of the mean as shown in story and as illustrated by the conduct of Chinna Parasurâman, Kadâkumaran, broker Appu and others of this town. Their conduct befits their birth.

The Governor and M. St. Paul mentioned Nârâyana Pillai's and two or three other Bengal cases and doubted whether such complaints could be disproved. After speaking about Bengal affairs, he went inside, and the rest went about their business. I went to my office.

At six o'clock this evening the Governor sent for me and said, 'I told you this afternoon to buy a broad girdle at to-morrow's sale· When it is bought, enter it in my name.' I agreed. He then asked the news from Arcot. I said there was none.

I hear that Madame Dupleix has got the Governor's orders to fetch Muttiya Pillai, and

has sent people for him, saying that she would give them gate passes. I hear that one Sîyâlam went to bring him this morning. This matter has been under discussion ever since the middle of last October and has only just been settled. But I suspect that once here he will be treated as he deserves although he is now sent for with honour. I advised this to be done a year ago, and I mentioned the matter last October and November. Not a cash was spent then ; but now the Governor has agreed to spend much to finish the business at Madame's request. As this was destined, how could it happen otherwise than according to God's will ? Only the fool complains of what happens. The wise perceive that all things happen at the fated hour according to God's will.

Monday, June 8.[1]—The Governor sent for me at three o'clock this afternoon, and desired to know the contents of Muzaffar Jang's letter sent by one of his servants. I gave it to Madanânda Pandit to read. He read it as follows :—' I have not been released, and remain plunged in the ocean of sorrow. Your officers are the cause of this.[2] What can I do if such is the will of God ? From my miserable state of affliction, you can perceive how little

[1] *29th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.*
[2] Presumably he means by their mutiny in the previous April.

I can repay your kindness. Of what use writing? If my mother and my wife were with me, they would support me in my sea of sorrow, whence there is no escape, or they would strive for my release. So be pleased to send them to me; if you do so, I will never forget it. Although I cannot repay you, God will protect you. In the name of Jesus Christ, I beg you to send my family to me; if not, I shall die of fear, and the sin thereof will fall on you.' When I reported the contents of this mad letter, the Governor said, 'He must have lost his senses, else he would never have written such a letter.' Then he went out for a drive.

He returned at six o'clock and told me to write to Muzaffar Jang as follows:—'I have read and understood the contents of your letter. I do not hinder your mother, wife, etc., from joining you; but your wife's remaining here will greatly assist your release, for it will devour Nâsîr Jang's mind like a worm. That is why they remain here. By God's favour you will soon be restored to the enjoyment of your rights, whereat they also will rejoice. I am astonished at your letter, for you know well that, in time of danger, resolution alone can overcome the enemy. Act therefore suitably to the time, speak favourably to those in the camp, and so all your affairs shall be made

to prosper.' I was directed to write such a letter and send it by the servant who brought Muzaffar Jang's. I therefore did so.

Afterwards he said, 'How did Khâlif Khân's daughter, who used to live in Muzaffar Jang's house, leave Pondichery? Others may attempt the same, so tell the peons to be careful.' I therefore sent for the peons, gave them the Governor's orders, and asked them how Khâlif Khân's daughter had escaped. They replied, 'We don't know. Servant-girls go in and out a thousand times. How can we tell if she went secretly? We should know only if she went out in palankin or carriage, or on a horse or bullock, with her property.' I informed the Governor and warned the peons to be careful and went to my office.

The *mettu*-people came and reported that Muttiya Pillai would reach the Kottakuppam choultry and arrive to-morrow afternoon, the constellation being *Makham*.[1]

Tuesday, June 9.[2]—At seven o'clock this morning the Governor sent for me and asked how the matter of the left-hand caste people had been decided. I replied, 'Can they resist your orders? They are on the point of

[1] The first constellation in the house of *Simha* (or *Leo*). Each of the twelve signs of the zodiac comprehends 2¼ constellations, of which there are 27.

[2] *30th Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta*

agreeing to lend you the sum asked for, but they still hesitate lest people should say that they had paid on account of this affair. Have they ever before resisted your orders?' The Governor answered, 'They might hesitate if I had asked for a gift; but I asked for a loan on account of the scarcity of money. I will send for both sides to-morrow and finish the affair as they formerly desired.' I agreed.

He then asked the news from Arcot. I replied that something must have happened to delay Jayarâm Pandit's mission. 'How? how?' he asked. I replied, 'A man fears what is near him. As [Nâsîr Jang] is 10 leagues[1] away what can be done against him? If our army marches, the numerous harkaras on the way will send news of it. He fears nothing, for he is on the alert and the fort is prepared against attack. Moreover the rainy season is at hand, so he cannot return. He means in a few days to march and halt this side of the Kistna. Thus he hopes to alarm the killedars who have been long laying up money, and compel them to give up their wealth in order to recover the enormous expenses of his march from Aurangabad to Pondichery. Moreover, I am told that Jayarâm Pandit's affair is delayed, owing to

[1] The Indian league of (roughly) 10 miles.

Taqî Sâhib's and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's evil reports, on the occasion of their visit to Nâsîr Jang.'—'Who says so?' he asked. I replied that I had heard it from the jemadars and peons who go to and from Arcot. 'How could they learn secret news?' he asked. I replied, 'I repeat merely what I hear, as usual.' As some jewellery was to be sold at outcry in the Fort, I told the Governor and attended the sale.

Wednesday, June 10.[1]—The *Maurepas* arrived from Europe this morning, M. de Beauregard[2] captain. She came by way of Mauritius, and, arriving here at half-past six or seven this morning, dropped anchor in the roads and fired a salute of seventeen guns which was returned by the Fort. M. de Beauregard landed, visited the Governor and delivered him the Company's letters. The Governor took them inside, read them, called the Captain, and spoke a word or two with him outside. The councillors present said nothing but only listened to what the Captain said, and then left. I hear that the ship has brought 50,000 marcs of silver.[3] M. Kerjean

[1] *31st Vaigâsi, Pramôdûta.* The text gives the Christian date as the 12th.

[2] Renault de Beauregard was brother of the Company's servant, Renault de St. Germain, who was later on to surrender Chandernagore to the English (*Arch. des Col.* C^2 15). I believe him to be the same as the country captain mentioned in d'Albert's Journal of 1725 (*Mémoires et Corrce. du Chevalier et du Général de la Farelle*, p. 248).

[3] The correct figure is 40,000. See *Mémoire pour la Compagnie contre le sieur Dupleix*, No. XIV, L.

has been appointed a King's officer in Europe so that M. Bury will now be subordinate to him, as M. Bury's commission is only from the Company.[1] M. Kerjean follows in another ship with 200 dragoons. I also hear that the *Centaure* which sailed hence last year has been wrecked near the Cape, three men were lost but the rest were saved.[2] Her Captain was La Butte. Her cargo of coffee, pepper, etc., was lost. The present ship has brought fifty recruits and five ships for Bengal are bringing 150 or 200 more. I will write anything more I may hear. Both the present ship and M. Lassigny's fly the *flamme* but I hear that the junior captain will haul his down. It is said that in Europe the King of France is inspecting all his ship-building yards[3] and himself

1 Kerjean was sent home in 1748 to assist in spreading the fame of Dupleix' defence of Pondichery. The order of St. Louis was then conferred on him, and he was promoted captain by a commission, dated at Fontainebleau, November 5th, 1750 (*P.R.* No. 28, f. 544). Bury had held a commission as Major of Pondichery, dated Fontainebleau, November 15, 1735 (*Ibid*, f. 457), but at the time of Kerjean's promotion was given rank as *Lieutenant-Colonel réformé* (*Ibid*, f. 561). So far as I am aware, all officers in the French Company's service were commissioned by the King.

2 Wrecked off Cape Agulhas (Weber, p. 537). A new vessel of the name was built in 1751.

3 In fact this amounted to one brief visit to the ship-yards at Le Havre in September, 1749—the sole sign of personal interest displayed by Louis XV in the maritime life of his country. Maurepas, when Minister of Marine, had prepared a scheme under which in ten years the navy would have risen to 110 ships of the line and 54 frigates. He was dismissed in April, 1749, and his successor Rouillé was unable to give effect to the scheme for financial reasons. See Lacour-Gayet, *La marine militaire sous Louis XV*, pp. 223, etc.

attending to state-affairs. People's joy is indescribable. As the ships are bringing treasure from Europe, trade will flourish and the people will prosper. Nâsîr Jang will depart in fear as many ships are expected—so men now say. As for Chandâ Sâhib, he rejoices at the arrival of troops to conquer Nâsîr Jang; and he thinks that Nâsîr Jang, who already fears the French, will be so alarmed as to give up Arcot, release Muzaffar Jang and depart. I cannot describe the people's joy. As the Governor was busy all this afternoon reading the Europe letters, he did not send for me.

The Governor sent for me this evening and asked the news from Arcot. I replied that there was nothing fresh.

He then told me to make the merchants send at once for goods, to be despatched by the ship, from Salem or Udaiyârpâlaiyam, if none could be had here. I agreed, sent for the merchants, told them to write letters for cloth to Salem and Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Arni, Kunnanûr[1] and Saidapet, and elsewhere to the north.

Thursday, June 11.[2]—I went to the Governor this morning and said, 'Muzaffar Jang has been imprisoned in the fort. On this he

[1] Probably a mistake for Kunnattûr, a weaving centre in the Chingleput district.
[2] *1st Âni, Pramôdûta.*

attempted to take his life by tying a cloth round his neck; Nâsîr Jang's guards hearing a noise, seized him, removed the cloth and reported the matter to Nâsîr Jang. Nâsîr Jang was sorry and sent Shâh Nawâz Khân and others to comfort him with promises of being given the kingdom he desired and a dress of honour.' I added that people said matters were being delayed both here and at Arcot and that unless troops were soon sent to seize Villupuram and Tiruviti, the project would come to nothing. 'I shall do so,' he said.

Friday, June 12.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning to see the Second, but he was not there. When I asked where he was, I was told that as it was Friday, he had gone to sit at the Choultry,[2] so I went to the Governor's.

I reported as follows the contents of the letter received at eight o'clock last night from Mudâmiah of Chidambaram:—'(After compliments) I have read your letter with joy. You write that I have disregarded Ânanda Rangappan's letters about the Bhuvanagiri lease and the Chidambaram mortgage. I would never do such a thing. As I am renter of the Bhuvanagiri country and as Ânanda

1 *2nd Âni, Pramôdûta.*

2 *i.e.*, as Chief Judge of the Choultry Court.

Rangappan has my agreement, I shall observe its terms. As for the Chidambaram mortgage, I have written to my master[1] and I will inform you of what he says. Moreover Muhammad 'Alî Khân's men are here demanding payment, as your people here know.' The Governor asked what my people had written. I replied, '[Mudâmiah] has written to Arcot and will continue writing us such letters until he receives help. He has sent all his goods into Devikôttai. He has summoned all his people and warned them that they could only remain so long as he and the French were friends, and that they had better remove their goods before an army was sent against them; so he advised them to send their families and goods across the Coleroon and remain alone in the town. This letter cannot therefore be trusted. He may go at any moment. We should cautiously send enough men to collect the money. He should have replied politely that he would pay a quarter or a half and that, for the balance, he would look into the accounts and pay what was due. As he does not, he does not mean to pay, and looks to Arcot for assistance; if he receives none, he intends to spread his mat[2], as he

[1] 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân, Nawâb of Cuddapah.

[2] *i.e.*, lie down and do nothing: abandon the management of Chidambaram.

could not make a lakh of rupees even by ten years' hard work.' The Governor ordered me to answer as follows :—'As for the money you owe, Ânanda Ranga Pillai's man will show you the accounts. Pay him accordingly and take his receipt. I care not whether you write to your master about the Chidambaram mortgage or not. You have agreed to pay it and you must do so. Send therefore what is due without delay.' I wrote accordingly, with another letter in my own name in similar terms to Kalichiya Pillai and Bâlâji Pandit. On receiving a reply the Governor will decide what should be done.

'Abd-ul-rahmân then brought a Persian letter from his man at Arcot and read it as follows :—'The Arcot killa has been cleared out for the reception of Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. The treasury too has been removed. Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân is also imprisoned there. The killedars who have obstinately refused to pay their dues are also to be imprisoned. Nâsîr Jang has sent two dalayets with a letter to Taqî Sâhib, at Wandiwash. He has also written to 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, saying that when the latter's affair was settled at Wandiwash, he agreed to send for Chandâ Sâhib, and give him a killa and jaghir, or, if he refused to come, to deliver up his family, etc., that he had failed to do either, and

that he must do one or the other without delay. The party accompanying the dalayets sent to Taqî Sâhib with some of Taqî Sâhib's men will proceed to Pondichery. When they come, they should not be received but sent away with shame. Then they will fear Chandâ Sâhib's coming. As all that Jayarâm Pandit said was known before he had left Wandiwash, and as Taqî Sâhib had come to terms two days before Jayarâm Pandit's arrival, Jayarâm Pandit's affair has been delayed. As Taqî Sâhib fears the French, he desires the talked of proposal regarding Chandâ Sâhib to be carried out successfully, although his late conduct has been hostile to Chandâ Sâhib. Saiyid Sâhib tells me to write this. Although Chandâ Sâhib should not go there, God will nevertheless prosper his business. Saiyid Sâhib advises that Chandâ Sâhib's wife should be removed to Pondichery and promises to arrange it in a few days. Saiyid Sâhib is very angry, and never attends Nâsîr Jang's darbâr. Saiyid Lashkar Khân and other mansabdars have marched. Guns and ammunition have been sent in advance with a small force, and Nâsîr Jang has resolved to set out. He halts only in order to extract money from the killedars, and he will then proclaim his departure. When 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân, 'Abd-ul-majîd

Khân and other Pathans sought permission to go home, Nâsîr Jang said that he would march in a few days, and they could wait for him. They replied that they wished to go at once as it would be a month before he could march, even though he gave orders at once. But he declared that he could not remain after he had sent on his guns, etc., and that he would start on the 15th of Rajab.[1] They agreed.' The letter also gave details about the price of rice, etc., and added that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân had been imprisoned.

On hearing this, the Governor told 'Abd-ul-rahmân to reply that he had read the letter to the Governor, who laughed and said that they were behaving rather like children or drunkards instead of strong and prudent rulers. He called 'Abd-ul-rahmân back and said that in his dishonesty Nâsîr Jang was behaving according to the proverb, Restless as a must elephant.

I told Madanânda Pandit to write a letter accordingly; and when 'Abd-ul-rahmân had received it, he took it away.

When this matter was finished, Muzaffar Jang said that nothing could be done unless the Valudâvûr fort were seized. 'Why not?' the Governor asked. He replied, 'Taqî Sâhib

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[1] June 19.

fears Pondichery, but hinders our affairs on account of his own interests. That is why affairs are delayed. The capture of the Valudâvûr fort would hasten matters. He was quiet when peace was talked of, but, as it came to nothing, he began to make trouble and will continue doing so. We must force him to make terms with us, or Nâsîr Jang will never give in. Chandâ Sâhib desires me to say he is convinced the matter will be settled if we attack the Tiruviti, Villupuram, etc., pargannahs now.' The Governor replied, 'In that case, let Shaikh Ibrâhîm and Shaikh Hasan be sent to capture Villupuram and Tiruviti with 200 horse, 300 sepoys and 2 guns; they should hoist the white flag and then report, on which I will send further orders. Shaikh Ibrâhîm should attack Villupuram with 100 horse and 300 sepoys, hoist the white flag there and return, leaving there a garrison of 50 sepoys. Let amaldârs and peons be sent to these places, and to Porto Novo, Venkatammâlpêttai, etc., to hoist the white flag.' I agreed.

Shaikh Hasan and Shaikh Ibrâhîm asked for rice. The Governor told me to give it them and I agreed to do so. Both of them then took leave. As I left them they said that they wanted not only gumastahs, cloth for flags, and rice, but also orders for their future conduct. I told them the Governor had

forbidden grain, money, etc., to be plundered after the places had been taken and that they could take only the grain needed for food. I warned them to be careful. I also wrote out sanads empowering Rangô Pandit and Kêsava Râo to manage the two places, sent 160 peons, fixed their pay, gave them batta, about 10 flags and sanads for the adjoining places, and despatched them. They took leave and set out this evening.

The Mint-people reported that of the 50,056 marcs weighed at the Fort to-day, 35,056 and odd marcs had been issued to the Mint and 15,000 kept for China.

Saturday, June 13.[1]—A cadjan letter from Pîr Muhammad came from Arcot this morning, saying that Muhammad Anwar Khân, Shâh Nawâz Khân, Morô Pandit, Khâzi Dâyem, Râmadâs Pandit and others had visited Muzaffar Jang and promised him the country if Chandâ Sâhib were brought to camp. Muzaffar Jang replied that he would do this if his own safety were guaranteed. There is further talk that Muzaffar Jang will be given a dress of honour on the 11th,[2] that Nâsîr Jang will set out on the 15th and that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and Mîr Asad have quarrelled and broken their old friendship. Mahfuz Khân is

[1] *3rd Âni, Pramôdûta.* [2] *Sc.* Rajab or June 15.

said to have visited Muhammad 'Alî Khân and told him that the country was ruined, that the French were brave soldiers who would kill whoever became subahdar, and conquer the country, and that they were already seizing territories, so that the subahdar would only lose his money and gain nothing. Muhammad 'Alî Khân replied that he did not want the country. When Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân of Kandanûr, who has lost his uncle, and 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah, asked for permission to go home, they were told to defer their journey until Nâsîr Jang himself marched. Muhammad Tavakkal has paid his compliments, requesting [Nâsîr Jang's] protection.

When I reported all this to the Governor, he asked why Muzaffar Jang had not written to Pondichery to get his affair settled. I replied that he should have done so. He continued, 'I always told you that Muzaffar Jang's affair would be settled favourably, as is actually happening.' I replied that, if it did happen, nothing would be more glorious. 'True,' the Governor replied.

A cadjan letter has come from Shaikh Ibrâhîm at Villupuram, saying, 'I reached Villupuram yesterday about nine o'clock and hoisted the white flag. The amaldâr had heard of our coming and fled before our arrival. Mutta Pillai, the custom-house

writer, received us with music and dancing-girls, led us to the fort, and put us in possession of it. He and the people of the place are friendly towards us. A Lâlâpêttai merchant had purchased two elephants of the Kanarese or Balijas at Porto Novo and was taking them to Lâlâpêttai. He had halted at Villupuram last night. We heard of this when he was about to depart, so we hastened to seize the elephants. I shall return with the troops and the elephants, leaving a garrison of 50 sepoys.' When I reported this, the Governor told me to write directing him to return at once with the elephants. I wrote accordingly.

I hear from the foot-messengers that the sepoy troopers say that sepoys will march to-day or to-morrow as Muzaffar Khân has persuaded the Governor that a lakh or two of rupees can be got by seizing Miyân Sâhib of Utramallûr.[1] They add that the Nâyaks and the Utramallûr cultivators have visited Muzaffar Khân and said that if he only sends 200 or 300 horsemen they will secretly help him to seize Miyân Sâhib, and tell him all the secrets of the place. They are now waiting.

Though the enemy[2] had received the two guns from Cuddalore, with some muskets,

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[1] 20 miles west of Sadras.

[2] In Tiruviti, against which place Shaikh Hasan had been despatched.

powder, shot, etc., Shaikh Hasan attacked them. There were 300 or 350 musketeers in the fort; but they were attacked so closely that they could not fly, though at first we had no ladders with which to scale the walls. When the ladders arrived, only ten of our people had been wounded and one or two killed. One or two of the Nâyaks deserted to us and related what had happened. I also hear that unless they come to terms, [Shaikh Hasan] will scale the walls, hoist the flag, and make his report. I reported all this to the Governor and we spoke of other things.

Monday, June 15.[1]—At half-past six this morning, I and Tânappa Mudali went to M. Delarche's about our lease of the Kârikâl villages. We read the cowles, and asked if we should have to pay money dues on the grain brought from Kârikâl. He replied that according to the cowles we should not. Although by custom nothing is paid for drawing cowles, yet, as we feared that M. Delarche would demand something, Tânappa Mudali proposed giving him 30 rupees as he is very avaricious. I agreed. As we were taking leave saying that we would send the money, a peon brought a message that M. Guillard wanted me. I therefore went to the Fort and saw him. He gave

[1] *5th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

me a bag of 3,742 Pondichery pagodas saying that the Governor wished them to be changed. I gave a receipt and took them away. As I was going, a peon told me that the Governor wanted me. When I went to his house, he asked if news had come from Tiruviti. I replied that there was no news except what came last night and that we should hear to-day.

Shaikh Ibrâhîm then came with two elephants, salaamed and said that they belonged to the merchants who had bought them at Porto Novo and were sending them to Lâlâpêttai to be sold at the camp. The Governor said, 'Ranga Pillai, have them tied up and fed and I will enquire about them later and send them away.' I therefore ordered the two elephants to be tied up with Muzaffar Jang's, and dismissed the owners' people, telling them to pay the cost of their food.

Then Shaikh Ibrâhîm told the Governor about his march to Villupuram, the flight of the old amaldâr, his reception with music and dancing by Mutta Pillai who was in charge of the customs, the surrender of the fort and the Government, the hoisting of flags at the fort, and town and his return here with the sowcars' elephants after posting 50 sepoys at Villupuram. The Governor replied, 'Why should we seize merchants' property? Let them be kept separately and accounts be kept; later on

I will enquire and send them away.' I said that I had already told them so.

The Governor then told Shaikh Ibrâhîm to go to Tiruviti with his sepoys; but when he said that the sepoys refused to march without their pay, the Governor grew angry with him and he went home.

About half-past twelve to-day Sâmâchâriyâr brought letters and reported the escalade and capture of Tiruviti. Although it was the time for the Governor to sit down to table, I told him that Sâmâchâriyâr had brought news of the capture of Tiruviti. 'When was it taken?' he asked. I replied, 'The walls were scaled one hour before sunrise this morning, the white flag was hoisted at sunrise, and then 21 guns were fired, with shouts of *Vive le roi.* A shot struck Shaikh Hasan on the mouth, loosening two teeth. The killedar has escaped but his dîwân has been seized with two letters, one from the Governor of Fort St. David and the other from Mahfuz Khân; these have been sent by Shaikh Hasan to 'Abd-ul-rahmân. Everything will be known from them.' On this, the Governor said, 'Good! Tell this news to Chandâ Sâhib. When Nâsîr Jang hears of it, his bowels will be loosened with fear.' He then told me to come back after having eaten. He then sat down and I came home. The Governor sent for me at three o'clock and said,

'M. Sombreuil[1] will march with 20 military, 10 Topasses and 50 sepoys; so write to Shaikh Hasan to hand Tiruviti fort over to him. Send 8 camels to-night to the Fort, to accompany him with powder, shot and four guns.' I was ordered to write to Shaikh Hasan as follows:—'I congratulate you on the capture of Tiruviti fort. To-morrow morning, I shall send 20 military, 10 Topasses and 50 sepoys, under an officer, to whom you will deliver the fort; but you will remain there with your troops. The dragoons and the officer will arrive to-morrow evening. You will join them with your troops on their arrival and halt at a convenient place halfway between here and Chidambaram. Later on I will write about what is to be done.' I wrote a letter accordingly, gave it to Sâmâchâriyâr, and despatched him with another letter to Rangô Pandit relating all these particulars.

The Governor sent for me at six o'clock this evening and said, 'M. Sombreuil[2] is marching to take command of Tiruviti fort. Give him an order directing Shaikh Hasan to deliver the fort to him.' He then said to the soldiers, 'I will order the Arumpâtai[3] to give each of you

[1] A Lieutenant, promoted Captain in 1752.

[2] The transcript reads 'Sâmâchâriyâr' which I take to be a slip for 'Sombreuil'.

[3] See Vol. IV, p. 341, n. 1 *supra*.

a fanam a day as batta. Get it from him. Ranga Pillai's people there will have ready at the fort a garse of rice, 50 or 60 sheep and plenty of ghee, etc. You are not to plunder; but you will be able to buy all you need in the bazaars, which will be opened.' He told me to write to my people to see to it. I said I would do so and asked the Governor to give orders to supply my amaldâr (whenever he needed them) with powder, shot, cartridges and whatever help he might require. He told Sombreuil accordingly. The Governor then told me to write to Shaikh Hasan to deliver to M. Sombreuil Tiruviti fort with all therein, to send an inventory, to remain there till the dragoons arrived to-morrow evening, and to obey the orders they would bring. I wrote an order accordingly, had it sealed, gave it to M. Sombreuil and desired him to set out. He took leave saying that he would do so to-morrow morning.

According to the Governor's orders I [sent] 8 camels to the master-gunner, to carry powder, shot, cartridges, etc., to Tiruviti.

I then told the Governor I had heard that Sambu Dâs (Sankarapârik's son)[1] had left Tanjore for Nagore, thence gone to Madras by

[1] Commonly called 'Bukkanji' in the English records. His family constituted the principal banking house of the Carnatic. They were largely employed in financing the English forces at Trichinopoly a little later.

sea, on account of ill-health, and died on the night of Saturday, June 6, two days after the Jyêshta[1] new moon and 20 or 25 days after his arrival, and that the body had been burnt on Sunday. The Governor asked me how many days ago that was. I said, 'Ten days.' Thereon the Governor remarked that he had ruined Chandâ Sâhib's affairs at Tanjore, and that his death was no loss. I agreed.

He then asked me the Madras news. I replied that a new Governor was expected from Europe and that the injustice of the present one was great.[2] The Governor replied that almost all Europeans thought the same. I then took leave and went to the nut-godown.

Tuesday, June 16.[3]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked if I had received any news from Arcot. I replied, 'Our people write that Shâh Nawâz Khân and other great men have told Muzaffar Jang that he will be given Arcot, Adoni and the countries he held before, but that he has totally refused to accept them.' He observed that Muzaffar Jang was right as it was not proper to accept the first offer. I agreed.

Then M. Cornet brought the spectacles received from Europe. The Governor picked

[1] The Sanskrit name for the month of Âni.

[2] The reference is to the misconduct of Richard Prince, Deputy Governor of Madras. See p. 127 *ante*

[3] *6th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

out five or six pairs and kept them. The Second and others took a few and the Second gave me two or three pairs. M. Cornet took the rest back to the Fort. I have heard no news worth writing.

The Governor sent for me at half-past three this afternoon, and asked if 'Alî Khân had gone to replace Shaikh Hasan as ordered, with two peons to guide the dragoons and their officers. I said he had gone about two o'clock. Thereon he told me to see that the Arumpâtai directed his writers to supply them with provisions. I sent two peons accordingly and informed Chinna Parasurâma Pillai.

Wednesday, June 17.[1]—Coral and silk yarn worth about 2,000 rupees belonging to Coja Soiquit were sold at outcry at the Fort this morning on account of his debt to M. Ducasse. These were pledged when he was threatened with imprisonment for his debt of 20,000 rupees to M. Ducasse. We shall see what happens.

Morâri Râo's vakîl has brought letters for Chandâ Sâhib and the Governor. He also had a message from Morâri Râo, saying, 'As you desired, I await your orders at Mûlavâdi near Venkatagiri. If you wish, I will join you; or if you think the time is unfit, I will go

[1] *7th Âni, Pramôduta.*

elsewhere.' The Governor said, 'Tell him to speak to Chandâ Sâhib, and I will agree to what he desires. You had better go yourself and tell him.' I agreed and reported to Tirumalai Râo, Chandâ Sâhib's vakîl and Morâri Râo's vakîl what the Governor had said.

I then read to the Governor the contents of the Persian and Marathi letters from Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Pôlûr to his younger brother Chandâ Sâhib and from his gumastah Chandra Râo to Chandâ Sâhib's gumastah Râghava Pandit, which Chandâ Sâhib had read and given me that I might report their contents to the Governor. The Persian letter says:—' According to the agreement that has been made, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân is to be given the Arcot subah with Adoni and his former possessions, and you are to be sent for to an interview. But beware of going, whatever they may do, even though they should send Pîr Zâda with others and take oath on the Qurân. Do not listen to them, or agree. They will deceive you if you go. They regard neither truth nor God. So do not go.' To these strong dissuasions he added, 'I was managing my affairs through 'Alî Naqî; but father and son seized me treacherously in the fort and gave me up. In order to suit the times, I am now negotiating with 'Alî Naqî Sâhib who has made friends with Khâzi

Dâyem and Morô Pandit. They demand three lakhs of rupees; but they might as well demand my life, which they shall have sooner than the money. Nâsîr Jang will stay no longer. He will give a dress of honour to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân on the 11th of Rajab and then set out.'

Râghava Pandit's Maratha letter contained the same news, and added that it had been decided to give [the dress of honour] to Muzaffar Jang on the 11th, that Shâh Nawâz Khân was preparing to set out for Pondichery to pacify the Governor and Chandâ Sâhib and take Muzaffar Jang's mother, wife and children; that, as his business was pressing, Nâsîr Jang desired much to make friends with Muzaffar Jang and make him his own man; that Muzaffar Jang's affair had been finished successfully by reason of his family's presence here, and that Chandâ Sâhib's affair had also prospered for the same reason; otherwise it would have been difficult to settle.

When I reported this, the Governor said that, by God's favour, according to this news, we should soon hear of a dress of honour being presented to Muzaffar Jang. I replied, 'God grant that such news comes.'

When we were talking thus, there came a letter from Mîr Muhammad Khân, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's paymaster. This is the

man who joined Nâsîr Jang, and boasted (falsely) that he had prevented Muzaffar Jang from accompanying the Europeans when they retired here. This sinner against God cares neither for Nâsîr Jang, nor for the other side, and now writes:—'Four or five thousand horse now serving Muhammad 'Alî Khân (Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son) formerly served Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. With their help, Muhammad 'Alî Khân is being closely watched and not allowed to go out. Muzaffar Jang will receive a dress of honour on the 11th of Rajab. Shâh Nawâz Khân and others intend visiting Pondichery to satisfy the Governor and you, put you in possession of the country and take Muzaffar Jang's children. Affairs to the northward urgently require Nâsîr Jang's presence. You may therefore rest assured that your business is settled. The whole army has moved and all the guns have been ordered to Mûlavâdi and Kolala. Five or six hundred horse go off every day without leave; so he cannot remain here. If he does, he will only have four or five thousand horse, so that 1,000 soldiers, 4 great guns and two or three thousand Mahé sepoys could easily capture him.'

The Governor observed, 'This sinner against God writes shamelessly. Well, send him a complimentary answer.' I said I would do

so, told Madanânda Pandit to report this to Chandâ Sâhib and then went to the nut-godown. The Governor's joy is indescribable. If Muzaffar Jang comes here, the Governor's glory will shine through the world without spot. I and many others pray God to send Muzaffar Jang here and give him Arcot, that what is here written may come to pass.

Thursday, June 18.[1]—Shaikh Hasan and 'Abd-ul-rahmân arrived this morning. Shaikh Hasan's lips were a little swollen and two of his upper teeth loose, on account of the wound he received in storming Tiruviti fort. When his arrival was reported to the Governor, he told him angrily that no one should come in without orders. Shaikh Hasan replied, 'I cannot describe the abuse given me by the sepoys for their being six or seven months in arrears. As I feared for my life, if I remained, I set out and met 'Alî Khân on the way with 2,000 rupees.' When he said this, the Governor's abuse was indescribable. But Shaikh Hasan continued, 'The sepoys declare that they do not demand their pay, but desire only to give back their muskets and be dismissed. If they are not allowed to do so, they will believe it is resolved to put them to death and

[1] *8th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

then they will seek to kill me.'[1] The Governor replied more mildly.

The Subahdars then said that a lakh of rupees could be got by seizing Miyân Sâhib of Utramallûr. 'Five or six days ago,' they said, 'Chandâ Sâhib wanted people to be sent to do so, and still says the same. If you will order a supply of cartridges and hûggahs[2] for grenades and permit us to march, we shall get a lakh of rupees and pay the sepoys and bring you 50,000 rupees.' The Governor said that they could certainly do so, and gave them an order for 6,000 cartridges and 500 hûggahs. They received the order and departed, saying that 400 sepoys should march to-morrow, and that they would try their best to get money in all possible ways. The Governor said that they could do as they pleased.

Mîr A'azam then came and asked for 4,000 cartridges and 50 hûggahs for the Râvattanallûr fort[3], and the Governor gave him an order for them. All then took leave and went

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[1] Such mutinous episodes, due mainly to their pay being in arrears, were by no means uncommon among the French sepoys. The murder of Dîwân Raghunâtha Dâs a little later in the Deccan shows that Shaikh Hasan's fears were not wholly imaginary. Bussy himself was at one time in apprehension for his life. See *Mémoire pour le sieur de Bussy* (1764), pp. 37—38, where in a letter to Dupleix he says, 'L'exemple de Ramdaspendet et récemment de trois jemadars sont pour moi des leçons parlantes.'

[2] *i.e.*, the shells of hand-grenades. See Irvine's *Moghul Army*, pp. 131 and 282.

[3] *Hûggahs* were specially used in the defence of places. See the references cited above.

to their respective homes. I went to the nut-godown.

To-night a letter came for Chandâ Sâhib from Bâlakrishna Dâs (son of the dead Sambu Dâs), saying, 'My father died at one o'clock on the night of Saturday the 2nd day in the bright half of Jyêshta.[1] I am therefore responsible for my father's debts. I am but 10 years old, and you should protect and advance me for he helped you. My goods have been attached, my gumastahs put to great trouble, and Morô Pandit has imposed a fine of 60,000 rupees. His horsemen now strictly demand payment; and all my creditors sit *dhârna*[2] and shame me. This, and the loss of half his wealth, led to my father's death. They press for payment. You promised to pay not only your own debt but also that of the Tanjore people when you arrived after taking on you the subah. So, my father lent you a lakh of rupees, but even now neither the old nor the new debt has been paid. If you will therefore pay a lakh of rupees together with the old debt, I can pay my creditors and Nâsîr Jang's fine of 60,000 rupees, and live at peace.' A similar letter was also written to me saying that the foregoing had been written to Chandâ Sâhib and desiring me to speak to him about it.

[1] June 6.

[2] See Wilson's *Glossary*, *s.v. dhârna*.

I therefore took his Maratha peon to Chandâ Sâhib, first mentioned other matters, then brought up the business I had gone about, and recommended the petition of Rahîm Sâhib of Porto Novo, and finally presented the letter from Sambu Dâs's son. Chandâ Sâhib asked Madanânda Pandit to read it. When this had been done, Chandâ Sâhib asked when Sambu Dâs had died. I said that he had died on the 1st of Rajab.[1] He continued, with polite regret, 'Then he has been dead thirteen days. Not only did he prevent the Tanjore people from paying their debt, but also ruined himself and me and now has died. He has been very unfortunate.' I said, 'Long ago Sankarapârik was under your protection and on your side. [Sambu Dâs] behaved so only at the point of death. His son is ten years old and you should preserve their house and protect the boy.' Chandâ Sâhib replied, 'Of course I will protect him and not demand what he owes me.' I observed, 'His prosperity dates from the moment of that thought.' He said he would send a reply to-morrow. We took leave and went home at half-past ten.

Friday, *June 19*.[2]—This morning I reported to the Governor news sent by Kalichiya Pillai,

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[1] *i.e.* June 5 (Cf. p. 267 *ante*); but it should be remembered that the Muhammadan day runs from sunset to sunset.

[2] *9th Âni*, *Pramôdûta*.

my gumastah at Chidambaram, and Bâlâji Pandit:—'When Muhammad Khân of Chidambaram heard that Tiruviti fort had been scaled and captured, he forgot his obstinacy and declared he would pay 5,000 rupees on the Chidambaram mortgage and 15,000 rupees on Bhuvanagiri, and said he had already sent the amount to Pondichery in rupees and pagodas. He has abandoned his former stiffness, speaks politely and thus expects to share the good fortune of the French.' When I said that they had thus praised him, he said, 'Take whatever he sends and the rest can be settled afterwards.' I agreed. He added that when our dragoons and sepoys encamped at the Mêttupâlaiyam Choultry[1] ' he would pay the balance without delay. I replied, 'I don't think so. When Tiruviti fort was captured, those at Chidambaram fled for fear that that place would be taken too. The amaldâr of Porto Novo has also fled, and all is confusion there; and the same has happened in the pargannahs. Moreover Muhammad Khân said that people belonging to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son were waiting to collect the money due in Bhuvanagiri and Chidambaram; my people replied that that was nothing to them and that he should answer Muhammad 'Alî Khân that the money had

[1] Mêttupâlaiyam, on the Paravaiyâr river, near Chidambaram.

been demanded and paid according to the cowle.' The Governor told me to repeat this by letter to him. I accordingly sent for Râmôji Pandit and told him to write.

I then said that M. le Blanc had written from Covelong that the children of the imprisoned killedar were complaining. The Governor asked who he was. I replied, 'He was a favourite of Anwar-ud-dîn Khan: but when Chandâ Sâhib defeated Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and took Arcot, M. Bruno occupied Covelong, seized the killedar and sent him here. He has been kept in the Nayinâr's house for the last eleven months.'—'Well,' the Governor said, 'set him free at once as he is no use to us.' I said I would do so, went to the nut-godown, sent for Periyanna Nayinâr, and told him to release the old killedar.

At eleven o'clock the Governor sent for me and asked if I had fixed prices for the coarse blue cloth, chintz and lampasses brought by Mr. Croke's dubâsh from St. David's. I replied, 'I made offers according to what you and M. Carvalho said yesterday. Mr. Croke's dubâsh took my note and said that he would go to Devanâmpattanam and speak to his master.'

The Governor spoke of the Governor of St. David's and then of the incapable Governor of Madras as follows:—'He is most unjust. He sent for all who had any stock of

hand-painted chintz for Manilla, and ordered them to freight their goods on the Manilla ship or sell them [to him]. Thus he seized all their goods. They complained that the ship sent last year had been wrecked and they had lost thirty or forty thousand pagodas. But he replied that though they might have lost then, they would gain now. They objected that they had been losing money for five or six years, and declared that they could afford to lose no more. But he has disregarded their protests, prevented them from selling their goods, sealed up their houses, exacted money from them by false charges, and even beaten and imprisoned them. Why should he do so great injustice? He might as well shoot them. Can any Governor so ill-treat his townspeople?"[1]

I answered, 'As I formerly said, none will settle in a town where the Governor behaves so unjustly; and it will lose its inhabitants and prosperity.' Father François observed that so many craftspeople were settling at Madras, that all who wanted to buy goods had to go thither. On hearing this, the Governor's anger

[1] Whether Prince exceeded, or acted without, orders, I do not know; but his conduct was doubtless inspired in this case by the political motive of injuring the French trade. Six months later the English forbade the merchants in their bounds to assist the French with either freight or loans (*Fort St. David Cons.*, January 7, 1751). This affected the French trade to Manilla especially, as Manilla cargoes were mainly composed of Porto Novo cloth (blue) and Madras chintz.

was boundless. I replied, 'Did not the crafts-people reside here formerly and purchasers flock hither to buy? But the long troubles caused by the English ruined industry and scattered the workmen. Contracts were again made last year and industry revived, but, as the troubles returned, those who had come back went away again. When the troubles cease and trade flourishes, they will certainly return at once. The coarse blue cloth made at Porto Novo and Cuddalore cannot at present be equalled elsewhere but it is not to be compared with what used to be made here. The same is the case with chintz.' The Governor agreed with me and said much about it. M. Carvalho remarked that Mr. Floyer and his Deputy at Madras were behaving like children and caring nothing for proper government. The Governor said that both were mere boys who had no experience of government. Thus Madras affairs were discussed for about an hour. Then [.]

Sunday, June 21.[1]—Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, Dôst Muhammad and others told the Governor, soon after his return from mass, that Nâsîr Jang was living in Chandâ Sâhib's palace at Arcot, that he had sent forward his guns, etc.,

[1] *11th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

but had kept his treasure under the charge of five or six thousand horse. They also mentioned their sepoys' pay.

The Governor then said to 'Abd-ul-rahmân, 'You caught a golla carrying a letter to a Cuddalore merchant the day before yesterday. What was it about?' Dôst Muhammad said that it contained [a bill for] 1,500 rupees. I observed that Dôst Muhammad had told me that it was for 500 Râjâ Shâhi gold coins[1] and 400 rupees. The Governor asked if there had been no cadjan letter. Dôst Muhammad said there had been. The Governor continued, 'I will collect the money. Let me have a receipt for it included in the amount issued for the sepoys' pay. What is the value of the two elephants belonging to the Lâlâpêttai merchants seized near Villupuram?' He replied, 'They bought them from Sarup Lâlâ, the Quedah merchant at Porto Novo, for 1,750 star pagodas. Their charges must be added to this amount.' The Governor told 'Abd-ul-rahmân to sell them for 1,500 pagodas which would be reckoned with the money issued for the sepoys' pay, and said that a receipt could be given for the whole. 'Abd-ul-rahmân said that he

[1] Dr. J. R. Henderson, of the Madras Museum, suggests that these may be Muhammad Shâh pagodas, originally struck at Adoni and Gooty for the Moghuls and later by both Morâri Râo and Hyder 'Alî.

would enquire if any Pathans would purchase them. He then gave the Governor a message from Chandâ Sâhib, saying that, as the latter was related to Miyân Sâhib of Utramallûr, he could persuade him to settle his affair for a lakh of rupees, if once he were got hold of. The Governor agreed, as money was wanted for their pay. The other told him Chandâ Sâhib believed that affairs could be easily settled. But Madanânda Pandit said, 'The sepoys have been clamouring these two days and refusing to march; every one in town knows all about it, so that it will be difficult to get hold of him.' —'Why?' the Governor asked. He was then told everything from first to last. He agreed, and said when Muhammadan affairs were once mentioned, every one knew all about them and they could not be kept secret. Dôst Muhammad replied that nothing had got out through him, but that Chandâ Sâhib's people might have betrayed the news; when he had ordered his men to prepare to march, they had refused saying they knew they were to go against Utramallûr but would not until they had been paid. It was also said that Saiyid 'Abd-ul-rahmân, *alias* Pîr Zâda, one of Nâsîr Jang's followers, was praising the French and Chandâ Sâhib, and blaming Nâsîr Jang for not settling affairs quickly. They then took leave. I went to the nut-godown.

At eleven o'clock, the Governor sent for me and mentioned the purchase of redwood, Ṣalem cloth, etc. He said he would advance money so that large quantities could be obtained. The matter of the Reddis' lands was then mentioned, and he asked why the Villiyanallûr Reddis still remained at Tiruppâppuliyûr[1] and directed it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that unless they returned to Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr by July 25, they should cease to be nâttârs in our Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr countries. He called Appu and told him to write a cadjan letter to writer Ranga Pillai. I sent word that the foregoing orders should be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom at Villiyanallûr. There is nothing else of importance.

About six o'clock the Governor sent for me and said that he had already ordered *tôranams* to be tied as far as our power extends to the northward and that the same was now to be done to the westward. I said I would see to it, and, having taken leave, arranged for proper persons to go to-morrow morning.

The Governor also said that the Chidambaram people still owed 20,000 rupees. I replied that they had gone to get change at Cuddalore and that they would come soon.

I then came home at half-past eight.

[1] *i.e.*, under the protection of the English.

Monday, June 22.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked the news from Arcot. I said there was none.

He then told me to arrange for 6 or 7 camels and Company's bullocks to carry four small guns, powder and shot, to Villupuram. I arranged for 6 camels to be got ready and sent to the master-gunner. Peddu Nâyakkan came and reported that he had sent them.

He then asked the Cuddalore news. I said that Sonnappayyan's son, Ayyavayyan, from Fort St. David had told me that, after the arrival of Europe ships here, a Europe ship had reached Fort St. David with new Councillors and a Governor on board, to replace the present ones, that another was coming with a staff of Engineers to enquire and build forts where he thought fit, that the people of Madras and Fort St. David had been forbidden to build houses,[2] and that the present Governor (who is suffering from venereal ulcers) was therefore much troubled. The Governor observed that the Gazette just come from Europe mentioned that the English

[1] *12th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

[2] On July 6/17 the *Lynn* arrived with despatches dismissing Floyer and two of his Council and appointing Thomas Saunders Governor. Ranga Pillai was misinformed about a new Governor and Councillors being *sent out*. On the receipt of the news of Robins' appointment as Engineer (June 14/25) all building—public and private—was suspended, lest it should interfere with the Engineer's projects. In both cases, the news must have come out by earlier ships.

Company owed 32 million rupees to people in Europe, to say nothing of what it owed in India.[1] I asked the Governor if a million was not equal to ten lakhs. He said, 'Yes—altogether three crores and twenty lakhs of rupees. The English Company cannot last long. They owe a crore of rupees in Bengal. The English Company cannot last. How can it with such debts?' I replied, 'How indeed! That is why day by day they are declining here.'—'True,' he said. I continued, 'Although the English had done so much, Nâsîr Jang got angry with them and ordered a chobdar to drag Mr. Cope and others from his presence. After such a disgrace they returned secretly by night to Fort St. David, without even a torch. Could all this have befallen them in a time of good fortune? Has not Nâsîr Jang himself said that they only know how to earn a living by trade, but that neither they nor any other nation can govern, or fight or manage affairs like the French? Nâsîr Jang's words have been written and sent to Delhi and other capitals, which are now illuminated by the glory of the French.' After talking about other affairs, I went to the nut-godown.

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[1] In 1749 the interest on the English national debt was reduced. The Company was then allowed to borrow any sum up to £4,200,000, in order to pay off its bond-debt and reduce the rate of interest it was paying. It did raise close on £3 million by the sale of 3 *per cent.* annuities. See Macpherson, *Commerce with India*, pp. 175–176.

At six o'clock this evening the Governor sent for me and asked who had written to Chandâ Sâhib. I replied, 'Only the *guru* of his late brother, Badê Sâhib. He says nothing of importance.' I added that Madanânda Pandit had told me that the elder brother (I do not know his name) of Sharîf Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son-in-law) had written true and secret news as follows :—'Nâsîr Jang's chief of artillery says that Nâsîr Jang will certainly march on the 29th of Rajab[1]; God has been pleased to prosper your affairs as you hoped; let not our friendship be forgotten when I am at Aurangabad.' The Governor listened to this with joy.

He then asked if there was no other news. I said there was not, and added that on the news of our dragoons and sepoys' having encamped at Mêttupâlaiyam, the people of Chidambaram had fled in fear with their children and goods to Dêvikôttai, that Mudâmiah had done the same and our people had pursued him, and that his men had agreed to remain in the fort and said that a bill for 20,000 rupees had been sent to Cuddalore and that they would pay the amount when it was received. He asked when it would come. I replied that no one could say precisely but that it would

[1] *i.e.*, July 3.

come in a few days. The Governor agreed and said, 'I have advanced great sums which should be repaid me. If only I can recover them, I will undertake no more business. Let Chandâ Sâhib manage for himself.' When he thus vented his displeasure, I said, 'God has given you such glory and fame as none ever enjoyed before; He will never suffer you to lose your wealth.' As he said nothing, I took leave and went to the nut-godown.

Tuesday, *June 23.*[1]—I went to the Governor this morning and reported the contents of Jayarâm Pandit's and Shâh Nawâz Khân's letters. Shâh Nawâz Khân's letter says:—'I have received your letter by Jayarâm Pandit and have learnt all things from it and from his message. There are people great and small with the Nawâb Sâhib ready to punish all who resist his orders. You will learn the rest from Jayarâm Pandit's letter.'

He then asked me about the contents of the latter. I reported it as follows:—'You complain that I have hindered your affairs. I would never hinder your Excellency's business. You must have learnt this from the past, and will perceive it in the future. Shâh Nawâz Khân confidentially directed me to write to you that it is not strange that you should

[1] *13th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

have earned all men's praise by conquering the countries and killas; but there are certain mean people living upon slander; their faces have now been blackened, and, if the Valudâvûr fort be seized, the great who listen to lies will stand like painted figures, and the mean will be warned to cease from slander. If therefore you take the fort of Valudâvûr, you will obtain what you desire without trouble through the very efforts of your enemies. Whatever he has written is true and will remain so. As he is your well-wisher, he assures you that he looks upon your affairs as greater than his own. Furthermore, it will give pleasure if the four harkaras imprisoned with you are released. Two of your three soldiers were circumcised and released at once; the third has died, and the others have gone away. This is true news.'

When I reported this, he ordered me to release the four harkaras. I said I would do so to-morrow morning. He asked where they were. I replied that they were in chains at the Garden carrying earth. He ordered me to release them without delay, and write to Jayarâm Pandit to deliver them to Shâh Nawâz Khân at Arcot.

There was also a small note requesting a pair of spectacles for Saiyid Sâhib. When I told the Governor, he ordered me to send six

pairs. There was another note, saying that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had sent two men to kill Chandâ Sâhib and that therefore he should be on his guard. The Governor said, 'This news came a fortnight ago. Well, tell Chandâ Sâhib that twelve soldiers and a sergeant will be sent to-morrow.' [ ]

Wednesday, June 24.[1]—As to-day was Madame's name-day, all the gentlemen, councillors, etc., visited her. I also went and paid my respects. Then all went to the church and heard mass. As usual, three volleys were fired and the cannon in the Fort fired three salutes. The ships then fired all together as in time of war, so it was a great show, disagreeable only to those outside the town. Salutes were fired likewise, both at the Fort and from the ships, when healths were drunk after the return from church.

Chandâ Sâhib and his son, Mîr A'azam, and others paid their respects and then conversed with the Governor about the news from Nâsîr Jang's camp, Muhammad 'Alî's being prevented from moving against Pondichery by his horsemen's refusal to march, and the encampment near [Timiri ?] of fifty horse and thirty foot.

Venkatâchala Chetti had presented a complaint, drawn up by M. Le Maire[2], saying that

[1] *14th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

[2] Mint-master.

the mint-people could not receive No. 2 silver at the sâme rate as No. 1.[1] Thereon the Governor was angry with Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti, and demanded why he should object and require No. 2 silver to be assayed, when it had been found to be the same as No. 3. He then sent for M. Le Maire, who came when the Governor was talking with Chandâ Sâhib. When the Governor knew he had come, he also sent for M. Delarche, and in Chandâ Sâhib's presence told M. Le Maire and M. Delarche that the [mint-people] were great cheats, for they now refused as inferior what they had formerly agreed to take, just as if the quality were never in their favour. Venkatâchala Chetti replied, 'Let not such a thing be said of us, but let the silver be assayed before its issue, and then none can say that if we lose to-day we gain to-morrow.' The Governor said, 'That won't do. If you will keep to your agreement, well and good; otherwise it shall be coined in the Company's account.' Venkatâchala Chetti replied, 'I petitioned because it was said that there should be no hardship. But if I must

[1] The complaint was that a certain kind of dollar was turning out less fine than usual (Pondichery to the Company, September 20, 1750 *Arch. des Col.*). In consequence on June 1 the Council resolved to reduce the number of rupees furnished by the contractors for this particular kind of dollar from 2,308 rupees 5 annas to 2,300 rupees 11 annas *per* 100 seers. This probably explains Dupleix' annoyance at renewed complaint.

strictly keep to the agreement, instead of making a few fanams by my occupation, I shall lose.' The Governor said, 'If you like, you can renew your cowle for five years; otherwise, say so and the silver shall be coined by the Company.' As Venkatâchala Chetti was so confused that he could not make up his mind whether to say yes or no, the Governor asked M. Delarche if he had the last five years' cowle. He said that it had not been executed before the notary but in Council. When the Governor was about to send for a copy of the consultation, M. Le Maire said that it was at the mint, so the Governor desired M. Delarche to fetch it and sent for M. Boyelleau. M. Le Maire fetched the cowle from the mint and M. Delarche went home.

Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti then presented a petition like the former one. It said, 'Formerly charcoal and chunam were cheap but now cost twice or two and-a-half times as much, so that a bag weighing 110 marcs costs four rupees more to melt. Unless ten or fifteen thousand rupees are issued at a time, we shall lose one or two thousand rupees in alloying the silver with lead.[1] So ten or

[1] The loss as stated probably is *per annum*. Apparently what was wanted was that silver should be issued in considerable quantities, so that there might be less waste of fuel.

fifteen thousand rupees' worth of silver should be issued. Moreover dollars from Europe do not now turn out according to their numbers, so they should be assayed before issue.' The Governor read it.

Two months ago the Governor promised to settle the matter and gave the petition to M. Le Maire for report; but now he says sternly that he will do nothing. In spite of all explanations, he has obstinately refused to make any allowance and declared that they can have the contract on the old terms or else the work shall be carried out on the Company's account.[1] Then, I, Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti and Madanânda Pandit went to the nut-godown.

M. Le Maire presently brought a copy of the Council's resolution, gave it to the Governor and went away. The Governor sent for me again, gave the copy to M. Boyelleau, and told him to go to the mint to-morrow, and write out a new contract, in M. Le Maire's presence, for five years on the old terms according to the assays of silver made two months ago, so that it might be executed before Council. M. Boyelleau said to me, 'I believe you have a share in the business,[2] so be at the mint with

[1] It is odd that Ranga Pillai does not mention the resolution of Council noted above. It is vouched for in the despatch already cited.

[2] Ranga Pillai was one of the two contractors for the Silver Mint.

the merchants to-morrow.' I promised to be there with the merchants at four o'clock, and, having taken leave, came away with Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti.

The latter said, 'In this agreement, the Governor has made no allowance either for expenses or assays. That is no good. Our charges will equal our receipts, and our labour will be wasted.'—'Then refuse the contract,' I replied. 'How can I do that?' he asked. 'But ask him to issue ten or fifteen thousand rupees in connection with the alloying, and one will see what gain will be got.'

I decided to show the passage in the petition to the Governor and ask him about it; but he had gone to lie down. When I did so afterwards, he replied abruptly, 'Tell them to accept the old agreement or give the contract up. I will not make the least allowance.' I asked Venkatâchala Chetti what he thought about it. He replied, 'All gain comes of God, so let us not dispute further. Consent and let us go.' I accepted it, therefore, and we came away together. I had wished to represent the matter to the Governor; but as M. Le Maire's petition was given in unexpectedly, no allowance has been made. I pointed out that I had wished the matter to lie over for a suitable opportunity, but they had not agreed,

and hence the difference between the Governor's promise and his decision. Then I, Madanânda Pandit and Venkatâchala Chetti went to the nut-godown.

The Chettis have been saying that they had no opportunity to visit Madame; but I summoned Chittambala Chetti, Vîrâ Chetti and others and told them that though they had so much to do with dancing-girls, according to their custom, yet they had to attend to the Company's and other business. Thus I made them to agree to visit Madame Dupleix, and told them to come in the afternoon, when I would arrange for their visit, either at once or to-morrow morning. So saying I dismissed them and came home for food.

Salutes were fired seven or eight times at the Fort and from the ships during dinner and when healths were drunk. I hear there will be a feast and ball to-night.

At six o'clock Viswanâtha Reddi of Bhuvanagiri presented Madame with 11 pagodas. At one o'clock Râmabhadra Reddi presented her with five pagodas, and said that he would return at nine o'clock with Muttukrishna Reddi, headman of the Tiruviti country, and son of Sadâsiva Reddi of Nellikuppam; at nine o'clock to-night the latter presented her with 11 rupees.

Thursday, June [*25*].[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked the Arcot news. I said that the Lubbay, Dôst Muhammad, had given me two letters addressed to 'Abd-ul-rahmân, by Saiyid Sâhib and Irachand. I asked Madanânda Pandit to interpret them to the Governor. Saiyid Sâhib's letter says:— 'I have read your letter with joy and have received with pleasure the things you have sent. As Shâh Nawâz Khân is earnest to settle your master Chandâ Sâhib's business, it will certainly be done. Faqîrs seldom interfere in business; but when they do, God hears their prayer.' Irachand's letter says:— 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân is marching against Pondichery, but he cannot succeed. He has 50,000 horse. I hear that a faqîr has written out spells and given them to him. This paper is in the form of a letter to Chandâ Sâhib, on the receipt of which the latter will disregard all warnings, set out, and surrender himself to Muhammad 'Alî Khân; and it is on the way. Chandâ Sâhib's business will certainly be finished, as Shâh Nawâz Khân is intent on settling it. Muzaffar Jang is to be given the dress of honour. Vizier Mansûr 'Alî Khân has invaded Bengal, fought for two days, and beaten the Nawâb's army, so that the Nawâb

[1] *15th Âni, Pramôdûta.* The manuscript gives the Christian date as the 20th.

has agreed to pay ten crores of rupees, five crores in ready money, and five in six months' time, on condition of receiving a parwâna confirming him in the province. The vizier has written to the Subahdar of Rajahmundry and Chicacole, Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân, and others, desiring them to visit him, and they have resolved to go. Nâsîr Jang has received news to this effect. Elephants, camels and draught-bullocks have been sent for fodder to Conjeeveram, Sholinghur, etc., and will remain there.'

When this had been reported to the Governor, he asked the contents of Pôlûr Muhammad 'Alî Khân's secret letter to Chandâ Sâhib received last night. I reported the contents as follows:—'Alî Naqî Sâhib formerly promised to procure my release for three lakhs of rupees; but now requires five lakhs. Moreover when I sent my elephants to Vellore, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib having learnt of it, wrote to Shâh Nawâz Khân to hinder their march; but the latter pretended that they belonged to certain Pathans. He is well-disposed towards us, and ordered the elephants to be released on that pretext. God has been pleased to turn Shâh Nawâz Khân's mind towards us, to prosper our affairs; so assuredly we shall overcome our difficulties. Shâh Nawâz Khân sends word that Muhammad 'Alî Khân is trying to occupy the

Tiruviti, Villupuram and other countries, but that he should be hindered from doing so, without being actually attacked by the Pondichery people. To disgrace him, a thousand horsemen were sent to him to demand their arrears of four months' pay. When these horsemen troubled him for the money, he denied that he had a single cash, so they returned to Arcot. Muhammad 'Alî Khân is at Timiri. Thus he has been put to shame.'

Saturday, June 27.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked the news. I replied, 'There is news from Arcot that Nâsîr Jang asked 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân and 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân to pay peshkash. They replied that they had not paid any even to his father and would pay none now, for their countries were being plundered day and night by the poligars and Nâsîr Jang was responsible for the cost of maintaining sibbandies to suppress them. So they sent Nâsîr Jang's men away, saying they would not pay anything. Thereupon Nâsîr Jang in anger said they never would obey until he had chastised them; but they still obstinately refused, and absented themselves from the darbâr. On this Nâsîr Jang's people attacked people belonging to the subahdars of

[1] *17th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

Cuddapah, Kandanûr, Sâvanûr, and Bankâpuram, took them prisoners and carried them before Nâsîr Jang, who ordered them to be punished; but as the Pathans prepared to attack him, he asked Shâh Nawâz Khân to make peace. Shâh Nawâz Khân has therefore made terms. The Arcot people and other killedars who expected much are discontented. All Nâsîr Jang's old friends have become his enemies. As even Shâh Nawâz Khân, his dîwân, has become hostile to him, who will remain on his side? His commands are disregarded, and he cannot prosper, for all those who used to help and serve him have become his enemies. Everyone says so; can all be mistaken?

'Mansûr 'Alî Khân, who invaded Bengal has also sent Sher Jang to Aurangabad and Burhanpur, to take possession of Nâsîr Jang's countries, seize all the killas and send to the capital Nâsîr Jang's treasure, wherever it may be found. Thereupon he proceeded to Burhanpur and Aurangabad and wrote to all subahdars, jemadars, killedars, etc., dependent on the Pâdshâh and enjoying mansabs from him, to obey his orders instead of Nâsîr Jang's under pain of ceasing to be the Pâdshâh's servants. In obedience to vizier Mansûr 'Alî Khân's parwânas, many have visited Sher Jang, including Raghôji Bhônsla and Fatteh Singh who

complained that Sau Bhâji Râo had appointed Râmarâzu to succeed Sâhu Râjâ, thus usurping all authority; they proposed to set up another, and assured him that Bhâji Râo and Nâsîr Jang were one. Sher Jang, knowing this allowed Raghôji Bhônsla and Fatteh Singh to set up any one they pleased as Râjâ; and they have destroyed Nâsîr Jang's and Sau Bhâji Râo's countries, and attempted to appoint another Râjâ. Bhâji Râo has therefore sent to Nâsîr Jang urging him to return. Nâsîr Jang has received this news, and, I believe, will depart, for a bullock-load of straw costs 4 or 5 rupees and elephants, horses and cattle are dying in great numbers. No one knows what will happen. Khâzi Dâyem, Morô Pandit and others say that they have visited Muzaffar Jang but cannot persuade him to do as they desire. But nothing is really known about it. Such was the news written from Arcot.' When he asked what news had reached Chandâ Sâhib, I explained that he had not received the foregoing, and then went to the nut-godown, after speaking about the Chidambaram, etc., countries which were ordered to be occupied.

This evening the Governor sent for me and said, 'As you wish our detachment at Mêttupâlaiyam to encamp near Chidambaram, I will

give you a letter for M. Tribert[1] and send a European dragoon and a Muhammadan trooper to Chidambaram to say that the arrears must be paid up without further delay, or else he and his fort will be seized.' I agreed, and he wrote the letter and ordered me to have it despatched to M. Tribert. I gave the letter to a peon and before I despatched it, I wrote the details to Kalichiya Pillai, my gumastah, and told the peon to deliver the note and procure the money without delay.

[1] The name is conjectural. Ranga Pillai writes *Tiravêr*.

JULY 1750.

Thursday, July 2.[1]—As the merchants' cloth was to be sorted at the Fort this morning, I went to the sorting godown ; but the Governor sent a peon to fetch me. I informed the Second, and then went to the Governor. He asked the news from Arcot. I said I had heard none, and added, 'Our people who went to occupy the country have captured Eravâsanallûr fort and hoisted the white flag. When the amaldâr and his 300 peons heard that the French were advancing in great numbers, they fled to a pâlaiyam a league off surrounded by jungle and wrote to their master. Our people expect them to wait till they receive reinforcements.' The Governor said, 'Neither 'Abd-ul-rahmân's, Shaikh Hasan's nor Shaikh Ibrâhîm's sepoys were there, so these must be the people you lately enlisted.' I replied, 'Neither 'Abd-ul-rahmân's nor any of the others were present ; the *tôranams* were tied by the match-lock men whom I lately enlisted and for whom I obtained powder and shot.' The Governor was delighted and said, 'Tell them to guard the killa carefully and send them 30 *livres* of powder.' He gave me an order for the powder. I took it and said, 'They

[1] *22nd Âni, Pramôdûta.*

ask leave to enlist 100 more match-lock people and I have told them they may.'

He then asked if money was plentiful. I replied, 'This is the beginning of the year and there is not even money to pay men's wages. Besides in the troubles two lakhs of horse and five or six lakhs of men came and dug the ground 30 feet deep, and burnt everything, not leaving a dog to bark or a cock to crow. Throughout the villages every house is roofless. So how can there be money? If paddy were not procured from our possessions, every one would starve. Tiruviti and those parts are supplied with paddy from Devanâmpattanam. So what can be done? If the *cumbu* and *ragi* now being sown get rain, and if the troubles cease, these will be harvested in two months and men can live; otherwise what can happen?'

He then asked about Chidambaram. A letter from my gumastah Kalichiya Pillai received at half-past six this morning says that Mudâmiah has promised to pay 15,000 rupees as soon as the Europeans and sepoys reached Tachchakkâdu,[1] 10,000 rupees in ready money and the balance in 8 or 10 days. Mudâmiah also told him that Kânukôyi Narasinga Râo and Mudâmiah's man (I do not know his

[1] A village near Chidambaram. Mudâmiah evidently wished to be able to allege compulsion in case the other side called him to an account for the payments he made.

name) would go to Pondichery and settle the affair. Nallâ Chetti has been asked to transmit 10,000 rupees to Pondichery. I reported all this and added that I would press him for the balance of 5,000 rupees. 'That's right,' the Governor said and added, 'The day before yesterday, I sent Dôst Muhammad, the Lubbay, to Tiruviti with a letter ordering the soldiers and sepoys to march thence with two cannon. They will arrive to-day, and the balance will be paid quickly.'—'True,' I said, 'he is like that. What regard has he ever paid to friendship or justice? He will pay only to save his life' The Governor then observed, '14,000 rupees were received hree days ago; when will the balance of 6,000 rupees be paid?' I said, 'To-morrow.'

I reported to the Governor as follows the news received from Arcot this evening :—Muzaffar Jang who was imprisoned in the house of Safdar Husain Khân of Kalavai in the fort of Arcot, on the night of Sunday, June 28, attempted to escape by making a hole in a wall just large enough for his body to pass, hoping to reach Pondichery. But before he had finished, the day broke, and fearing he could not conceal the broken brick and chunam, he summoned Nâsîr Jang's *farrâshes* and told them what he had done, and begged their assistance in his escape. They asked why he

had done so, when it had been resolved shortly to give him the countries he wanted, and to invest him with a dress of honour and said that they could not conceal it, as he had spoken within the hearing of his guards, and as so many came to visit him, so that they could only expect to lose their lives. They then reported the matter to Shâh Nawâz Khân, who found the hole in the wall and a rod of iron that had been used instead of a crowbar. He told Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân that proposals had been made to release him in a few days, and settle all his affairs, and that the guards had been ordered to relax their vigilance until the peace-makers should return, so that he had done very wrong, and that Nâsîr Jang must be informed as the matter was known to so many. So to avoid endangering himself, he informed Nâsîr Jang who grew very angry, removed the old guards, replaced them by more vigilant men and withdrew his former liberty of receiving visits and sending messages.

The Governor having heard this said that he must be mad to have done such a thing and then called people to see what he had done. I replied that he must have hoped to escape, but, when dawn interrupted him, fear deprived him of his senses.

He then asked if there was other news. I replied, 'A letter to Chandâ Sâhib was

intercepted by some of the guards round Arcot, who delivered it to Nâsîr Jang. It said that Nâsîr Jang had only a few troops, so that if Chandâ Sâhib marched with 2,000 soldiers, he could easily seize Nâsîr Jang, that most of Nâsîr Jang's troops had marched, so guards were strictly posted ; but as he was rioting with women, all would happen to Chandâ Sâhib's wish. When he read this, Nâsîr Jang feared that Chandâ Sâhib had already got the soldiers he needed, but, as the writer of the letter was unknown and the bearer of it had escaped, he could only order the guards to be careful that no other letters were sent. Râjâ Chandrasênan and others, 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân and other subahdars, have been ordered to remain within reach and to be on the alert at night ; and he has directed harkaras to be sent to Pondichery for news.'

I added that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's affair was said to have been settled for either ten or five lakhs of rupees and that one version or the other must be true, that the Kalavai killa had been granted for 32,000 rupees and that Imâm Sâhib's son had visited Nâsîr Jang who welcomed him and gave him a dress of honour.

The Governor exclaimed, 'This is fine work of Muzaffar Jang's !' and he observed that the note must have been written only to alarm Nâsîr Jang and to make him leave the country.

He then asked if there was any other news. I said, 'That is all that has been written. I also hear that Khân 'Alam, Râjâ Râmachandra Râo, and other nobles have resolved to release Muzaffar Jang, establish him as subahdar of the Deccan subahs instead of Nâsîr Jang, and seize or, if they cannot do that, slay Nâsîr Jang when they have many men and he has but few with him. They therefore tried to set him at liberty by boring a hole in the wall, but day broke before they could finish, so Muzaffar Jang took the blame on himself, pretended madness, told everybody that he wished to make away with himself, and assured Shâh Nawâz Khân that his hands were sore with boring at the wall all night. He has done all this and pretended madness so that others may not be suspected. Râjâ Chandrasênan and others ask two lakhs of pagodas for their assistance ; and people are on their way to propose that you should be answerable for the money if Muzaffar Jang should fail to pay it at your request.' To this, the Governor replied that he would give the necessary promise and asked when the people would come. I said I had heard that they would come to-morrow.

He then complained that cloth was not coming in. I said, 'You know that the country is left without a dog to bark or a cock to crow, everywhere nothing but mudwalls without a

roof. A little cloth is coming from Salem and Udaiyârpâlaiyam, and the mint has been written to for cloth[1]; much longcloth of 9 and 12 kâls is coming in from Tiruvottiyûr, Chidambaram, Chennamanâyakkanpâlaiyam, Conjeeveram and elsewhere. When you know all this, what can I say?' I then took leave and went to the nut-godown.

As Nâsîr Jang lies at Arcot, our people cannot freely go out to collect cloth. If they went, they would need at least 200 sepoys. *Tôranams* have been tied up to the Poonamallee country, in Elavâsanûr[2] fort, and as far as Vâlikondâpuram for political purposes, and Nâsîr Jang is alarmed. But no cloth has come in, so money will be sent to Bengal to buy and store cloth—4 lakhs of rupees' worth—to be sent to Europe by the *Maurepas* which, I hear, will sail on Monday.[3]

Friday, July 3.[4]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said, 'About the agreement given by the Râjâ of Tanjore to

[1] Thus in the original. I suppose the mint to be that at Salem where some time previously the same man had enjoyed the sole privilege of coining fanams and making cloth (*Calendar of the Madras Records*, 1740—44, p. 10). I infer that something of this union of privileges subsisted ten years later.

[2] I presume Elavânasûr, in the South Arcot district. The same place seems indicated as Eravâsanallûr on p. 302.

[3] Probably owing to this lack of cloth on the Coast, the Bengal factories were directed to send five cargoes home this year (Pondichery to Chandernagore, July 4, 1750, *Corrce. de Pondichéry avec Bengale* Vol. III, p. 110).

[4] *23rd Âni, Pramôdûta.*

Chandâ Sâhib for peshkash, promising to pay him 70 lakhs of rupees—40 lakhs by mortgage and 30 in ready money, I intended some days ago to write to him for the balance due after deducting 10 or 11 lakhs actually paid down. But you objected and proposed to write instead that, as Chandâ Sâhib had pledged the Tanjore agreement to me on account of my large loans to him, no money should be given to Chandâ Sâhib's people, should they demand it. A letter was therefore written ; and it was decided that a week later a Brâhman and ten peons should be sent to demand the money. Now write therefore that vakîl Subbayyan is being sent with a copy of the agreement and that the money should be paid accordingly, less what has already been paid, after hearing vakîl Subbayyan's message.' I replied, 'Why should we demand only the balance? If we write to them desiring them in general terms to send money, they will give the details. We shall see what they write and can then answer suitably.'—'Very well,' he said. I therefore wrote as follows :—'I send vakîl Subbayyan with a copy of the agreement given by you to Chandâ Sâhib on account of his peshkash. You must send the money without delay or objection as soon as you receive this. You will have learnt all things from my letter written five or six days ago about this affair.

You will learn of other matters from vakîl Subbayyan.' I wrote accordingly, had the letter sealed and gave it to vakîl Subbayyan. The Governor took vakîl Subbayyan aside and said, 'As you were present throughout and know all about the agreement from first to last, I need not mention details. Strike fear of us into his mind and use every means to get the money from him. I will give you one *per cent.* commission on the amount you recover. Do your best therefore.' Vakîl Subbayyan salaamed and said, 'What I eat is yours. I am your servant; what need to pay me? But inasmuch as they refrained from paying when the fort was being bombarded, and would give nothing but promises, will they pay easily now? If they quit their obstinacy and pay anything, it will be due to your good fortune and valour.' The Governor replied that he must do his utmost to alarm them and get the money, and repeated that he should have a commission of one *per cent.* I said that he would do his best and set out on Monday morning. 'Very good,' he replied.

I then suggested that it would be better to ask Chandâ Sâhib to write to the Râjâ of Tanjore to pay money to us. He agreed; so I told Madanânda Pandit to ask Chandâ Sâhib to write the letter and give it to vakîl Subbayyan. He did so. I then went to the nut-godown.

Sunday, July 5.[1]—When he had heard mass and taken his coffee, the Governor sent for me at eight o'clock this morning, and asked the news. I replied, 'I told you the day before yesterday that our people had taken the fort of Eravâsanallûr and hoisted the white flag. I hear this morning that the runaway horsemen belonging to Husain Sâhib's mother and Raghunâtha Nayinâr of Ulundûr returned with 1,000 peons and musket-people, and 200 horsemen and attacked the fort which was held by only 100 Carnatic peons. As the fort is closely surrounded by projections and houses, our people could not perceive their approach or their position, yet they killed 30 or 40, and wounded many others. But as the enemy had 2,000 men and had long enjoyed the country, they stormed the fort, slew a dozen men and wounded 30 or 40. The rest escaped. I also hear that Venkata Râo, the amaldâr, was captured.

'Moreover Muttukrishna Reddi, dubâsh to Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, has replied as follows to our letter written by your orders nine days ago :—"To my letter complaining that people belonging to Shaikh Hasan, the second subahdar, had seized the money that was being sent from Gingee to

[1] *25th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

Cuddalore, you reply that both parties are strangers. The Cuddalore merchant formerly belonged to Vikravândi ; but five or six shroffs have signed a declaration (which I send) that he had traded at Cuddalore for the last year. Please therefore send the money by my peons." Such (I said) is his boastful manner, as though he were addressing a servant who had stolen something. He has written whatever occurred to him, without respect or fear. I report this lest you should blame me for suppressing it. But no matter how he writes. I can answer appropriately.' The Governor ordered me to send the men away telling them that their master had written rudely and that a reply would be given when he wrote in a proper way. I therefore told the Brâhman harkara and the Muhammadan peon, and sent them away.

The Governor then said, 'What happened when you went to Chandâ Sâhib's last night ?' [I replied,] 'He advised us to employ Misri Khân (Muhammad Khân Sulaimân's son) to manage the Arcot affair with Pîr Zâda, as he is of good family, can adopt his words to the occasion, and can arrange matters secretly with 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân of Kandanûr and 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân of Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram. He was therefore sent for and persuaded to do this.

Letters have been written to Pîr Zâda, in your name and Chandâ Sâhib's saying that Misri Khân is being sent, and that, if Muzaffar Jang be established and Nâsîr Jang deposed, those who accomplish this will be favoured, but neither letter refers definitely to the money. You said that an agreement should be drawn up; but the letters will do instead.' The Governor asked why the letter had been written in general terms only, though Hâji Fâzil had said yesterday that a lakh of rupees should be explicitly mentioned. I replied that both Chandâ Sâhib and Hâji Fâzil thought that inadvisable as it would be dangerous if the letters were intercepted by the guards, so it was written in general terms. He then asked for the letter, and I reported its contents as follows :—'Your letter stated that Muhammad Wâlâ and another Muhammadan (whose name I do not know) would report all things. I have heard them and my joy is inexpressible. I need not write in compliment, for your mind is turned towards spiritual things, like those who have quitted the world and fixed their thoughts upon God. Such men abhor injustice ; so also you seek to remove evil from the country, and accomplish all that you undertake. I will therefore grant you all that you desire as soon as I hear that the matter has been settled. You may depend upon this.'

The Governor then signed this letter, and ordered his small seal to be affixed on the envelope. When he was told that the cover had been sealed, he sent for Misri Khân who is to go on this mission. I had already told the latter to wait at the nut-godown, and so brought him before the Governor. He was given the following instructions :—'Speak to Pîr Zâda, Râmachandra Râo and others, Nâsîr Jang's mansabdars and jemadars in accordance with what Chandâ Sâhib and Hâji Fâzil said last night. Arrange for an interview between them and 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân and other Pathans and subahdars; and send at once the glad news of your having settled Nâsîr Jang's affair and established Muzaffar Jang in his place.'

Misri Khân replied, 'I am reluctant to do this, but have consented to risk my life as Chandâ Sâhib and Rangappan wish me to.' The Governor said that he should be rewarded for his trouble not only with great presents but also with lands. Misri Khân said he would go and hoped that the Governor would perform his promises; and thereon received the small envelope addressed to Pîr Zâda saying that, if they asked him about the money not being specially mentioned, he would settle it by giving a bond for seven lakhs or even a lakh more. The Governor said that he himself

would give him a bond for seven lakhs to take with him or give a [blank] bond. But I suggested that it would be better to give a bond for seven lakhs, as a blank bond would be improper. The Governor agreed, and said that after all no bond was needed; so I told Misri Khân to settle matters and give a bond for a sum not greater than that mentioned above, and if it could be done for less, so much the better. The Governor repeated this. Misri Khân agreed and departed with a gate pass.

A Pathan (whose name I do not know) sent by 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah had sent word from Chidambaram by another Pathan, 'Azmat Khân, that he wished to talk with Chandâ Sâhib and therefore desired letters to Muhammad Khân of Chidambaram from me and from the Governor. I told the Governor that I had discussed the matter with 'Azmat Khân last night and written a letter to Mudâmiah saying that the Pathan was at liberty to come and see Chandâ Sâhib, and proposed that it should be sealed. The Governor approved. I had it sealed accordingly and gave it to 'Azmat Khân, Chandâ Sâhib's jemadar, who was waiting at my godown before setting out for Chidambaram. He went away with it.

Tirumalai Râo (Mânukôji Siva Râo's son), Chidambaram Muhammad Khân's man and

an old Pathan trooper of Muhammad Khân's (whose name I do not know) discussed the Bhuvanagiri affair and on [Mudâmiah's] behalf desired time in which to sell grain enough to pay 50,000 rupees. I reminded them of his slippery behaviour. They admitted it, but promised to pay when the grain was sold, said that the collections were still incomplete and insisted that we must accept their offer. I replied that we might agree if they would give sowcars' bonds for the balance. 'Azmat Khân and others then departed saying that they would speak to [Mudâmiah] about it and return with his answer.

Misri Khân Sulaimân set out for Arcot this morning and 'Azmat Khân for Chidambaram.

Monday, July 6.[1]—At six o'clock this morning the *Maurepas* was despatched to Bengal with four lakhs of rupees. M. de La Touche's[2] wife, Madame Schonamille, Madame Le Noutre and others sailed on her.

Tuesday, July 7.[3]—On Monday, the 15th of June last (corresponding with 5th Âni, Pramôdûta), I obtained from M. Guillard, Councillor in charge of the Gold and Silver godown,

[1] *26th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

[2] The *Sous-marchand* (*Corrce. de Pondichéry avec Bengale*, Vol. III, p. 114). Dupleix says he sent him to Bengal in order that the Bengal factories might have their fair share of useless servants (*Arch. des Col.* C[2] 15).

[3] *27th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

3,742 Pondichery pagodas, 14 fanams and 48 cash, agreeing to repay the sum in rupees. Accordingly I gave M. Barthélemy the sum of 13,248 rupees, 4 fanams and 54 cash on account of the pagodas and recovered my note.[1]

Thursday, July 9.[2]—The [large] vessels, the *Fleury* and the *D'Argenson* with a boat, name unknown,[3] were despatched this morning with 200 [soldiers], 150 sepoys and 10 Topasses under the command of M. de La [Tour][4], with mortars, cannon, powder and other munitions on board, to attack and capture Masulipatam. M. Guillard went as chief; and he with the rest set sail at sunrise this morning. Vallûr Antannan, and Venkannan, his cousin, gumastahs of the Company's Yânâm merchants, Râmachandra Ayyan, Tôri Chetti, and Vasavappa Chetti, also went on board. The ship was still in sight at nine o'clock but then disappeared. A lakh of rupees was put on board to provide goods at Yânâm and Masulipatam.

Îsri Singh, middle son of Sawâî Jai Singh, and now reigning, assisted Takht Singh's son, Râjâ Râm Singh. Sawâî Jai Singh's country is called Sawâî Jainagar and its capital is

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[1] This would make the current exchange at Pondichery 354 rupees *per* 100 Pagodas.

[2] *29th Âni, Pramôdûta.*

[3] The Company's despatch describes her as 'une galvette armée de pierriers.'

[4] Ranga Pillai writes 'La Touche,' doubtless by inadvertence. La Tour was Captain at this time.

Amber. Takht Singh's younger brother, Bakht Singh is Mahârâjâ.[1]

The Surat messengers, who arrived at half-past six this evening, related the following news:—

Takht Singh, Râjâ of the wealthy country of Mârwâr, died; and Salabat Khân, the Pâdshâh's Bakhshî, attacked Râjâ Râm Singh, Takht Singh's eldest son, and assisted Takht Singh's younger brother. Râjâ Râm Singh's army amounted to a lakh of horsemen. The Bakhshî had 40,000 horse and his ally thirty or forty thousand more. So they had 80,000 altogether. The Pâdshâh marched 25 leagues east of Delhi against Kâim Khân Bangash of the Rohilla tribe of Pathans. The Pâdshâh went as far as the killa of Farrukhabad, which lies between the Ganges and the Jumna. Kâim Khân Bangash was killed six months ago by his own people; so the Pâdshâh is said to have returned with two crores which he found in the fort.[2]

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[1] This passage seems intended as a prefatory note to introduce what follows. Îsri Singh seems to be the 'Eesuri Singh' of Tod's *Rajasthan* (ed. 1873, Vol. II, p. 340). *Cf.* also Elliot and Dowson. Vol. VIII, p. 344. Sawâî Jai Singh, his father, is the famous Jai Singh II of Jeypore, who removed his capital in 1728 from Amber to the present city of Jeypore. Takht Singh and Bakht Singh were sons of Ajit Singh, Râjâ of Jodhpur, who was murdered by his younger son. (Hunter's *Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 241.)

[2] Kâim Khân Bangash was eldest son of Muhammad Khân Bangash Afghan Nawâb of Farrukhabad. For the episode alluded to, see Elliot and Dowson. Vol. VIII, pp. 116 and 213.

Mansûr 'Alî Khân, the Vizier, attacked the Nawâb of Murshidabad in Bengal, overcame him, made him pay tribute and still remains there.[1] Such is the news.

Saturday, July 18.[2]—When the Governor sent for me this morning, I reported that Mr. Cope and his troops had joined Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army at Tiruvennanallûr and now the two armies might move towards Tiruviti, Villupuram or Trichinopoly or retire to Arcot, but that we should learn to-morrow what they had done to-day. The Governor asked if I knew exactly how many men Mr. Cope had. I replied, 'How can I tell? All reports differ, and how can liars be trusted? Some from Cuddalore say that he has 500 Europeans and Topasses, while others say he has only 100. Others again report that he has 1,000 Topasses, Europeans, sepoys and Carnatic peons, etc. People from Tiruviti and our spies agree that he has 1,000 men in all.' The Governor observed, 'M. de La Touche writes that head-peon Savarimuttu sent out peons to enquire and that they report that the Europeans alone amount to 2,000. Who is to be believed? They have less than 500 soldiers altogether; so how can we believe these people.' I said

[1] The transaction seems to have been settled without invasion. See Orme, *History*, Vol. II, p. 44.

[2] *6th Ādi, Pramôdûta.*

that men commonly reckoned a hundred horsemen as 500. He agreed and I then came away.[1]

Nallatambi Arunâchala Chetti spoke to Madame on behalf of the Chettis, with offers of presents; and he waxed proud because he thought he had Madame's favour and proposed to petition the Governor himself without consulting me. He objected to managing affairs through me, because he wished to appear the pillar of the Chettis, and the favourite [of the Governor], by arranging matters himself. The Chettis therefore came in haste and stood in the Governor's hall. I did not mind because their conduct would prove their own gain or loss, and would not affect me at all. Formerly when they desired justice, they sought it through me, and I deemed it my duty to arrange their affairs; but now they have relieved me of that obligation. I rejoiced therefore, and cared nothing how the matter might end. The Governor came out and asked what they wanted. I said they had come according to his order of yesterday, but that the right-hand caste people had not come. 'Let them all come together,' he said. When I told them, they knew not

1 600 military (this probably include, Topasses) were sent out under Cope, *Fort St. David Cons.*, June 26,/July 7, 1750.

what to do and still waited. When he had walked a little, he came and asked what the matter was. They replied, 'The others have explained their case to you, but we have not. Both sides should be heard. We are the Company's merchants, so we should be supported, in order that others may respect us.' The Governor remarked that the left-hand caste dancing-girls had behaved ill. They replied, 'Do the right-hand caste dancing-girls rise when we get up to go? Neither should the left-hand caste dancing-girls rise for the right-hand caste people.' The Governor objected that it had been the custom for them to do so. 'That is not so,' they replied, 'according to the documents defining our privileges; so why should they rise?'—'Very well,' the Governor answered; 'let the others come and I will give my decision when I have heard them.' They then presented the two petitions which they had brought. Looking at them, he asked if Appu had ridden on horse-back. They declared that he had. He then sent for Appu, who, when questioned, replied, 'It is a common street I rode through; had it been a street belonging to the left-hand caste people, I should not have done so.[1]'—'Whose street is

[1] These caste disputes frequently arose out of a party going on horse-back or in palankins through a street reserved for the opposite caste-group.

it?' the Governor [asked]. Appu replied, 'Topasses, Europeans, Pariahs, and others live there. There are three houses belonging to their barbers. Pariah marriage and funeral processions both go along it. So I too rode that way. As this was after the dispute had begun, I should never have done so without first making enquiries.' The Governor told me to enquire and report to him. Appu said to me, 'As there are some Panisavans'[1] houses, I got off beyond the house of Dol, the European.' The Governor asked what he was saying. I told Appu to repeat it. 'Well, Ranga Pillai,' the Governor said, 'enquire into it fully and tell me to-morrow. Ask the right-hand caste people also to come, and I will hear what both have to say.' So saying, he told the left-hand caste people to go. They said, 'He told both parties to come yesterday. They have put off their coming. Are we to be treated as refuse?' So saying they desired me to ask the Governor to release the dancing-girls, adding, 'Shall we run away and not defend our privileges?' The Governor replied that, if he released them the right-hand caste people would [ ] and complain; so he would not release them, but told them

[1] See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. VI, pp. 55, etc. They are said to be divided between the two caste-groups.

to return to-morrow. The left-hand caste people took leave and departed.

Appu then said, 'In Elaichiyappan's street, there are a few families of both parties. That is also a common street. You are as my father and mother, so enquire carefully.' I replied that for my part, I should treat both parties alike, without favouring either, and dismissed him. I then went to the nut-godown. There the left-hand caste people repeated what they had already said. I replied that I would not favour either and dismissed them. So they departed.

Wednesday, *July 22*.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, I said, 'I heard yesterday that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army which was encamped at Arasûr, had marched to Kanisapâkkam, west of Tiruviti. Major Lawrence, who is Governor of Fort St. David until the new one arrives, has recalled Mr. Cope; but Muhammad 'Alî Khân told Mr. Cope who was about to start that he had only come in reliance on [the English], and that, if they departed under the pretext that a new Governor had been appointed, he would be unable to fulfil his promises to Nâsîr Jang. Both he and Mr. Cope therefore wrote to Fort St. David, and Cope awaits further orders.

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[1] *10th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

The Arcot news is that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's younger brother was given a dress of honour on the night of Tuesday, the 14th. He and Naqsh Band Khân were sent to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân with a message that in two or three days a dress of honour would be given to him also and that all his desires should be fulfilled. They assured him that the dress of honour might be expected at any moment, but they could not tell precisely when.'

He then asked if the shroffs who had come here had heard anything about the Chidambaram and Bhuvanagiri money. I replied, 'I heard that 40,000 rupees had been sent to Cuddalore, part in Chêtpattu and Porto Novo fanams and part in Porto Novo pagodas, star pagodas, and other kinds. I immediately sent for Vîrâ Chetti and told him to write a cadjan letter to his brother at Fort St. David asking him to accept the 40,000 rupees worth of Chêtpattu fanams, etc. I also made the shroffs write to their people, to deliver their money to him and send a reply here. I sent a peon with both those letters to Cuddalore.'

He then asked what had been said about the matter I discussed with Mîr A'azam last night—Chandâ Sâhib's paying an annual sum so long as he remained in power. I replied, 'They asked the amount. I told them that I could not be expected to know, but that you

had done and were doing much for them, opening your cash-chest thousands of times, even to the point of delaying the monthly pay, and ruining trade by the troubles at the Masulipatam and Yânâm factories, so that you had had to spend great sums and send three ships with an army from here. Thus in many ways you had suffered loss, as he well knew, while the Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr pargannahs which had been given you had been made over to the Company, and thus you had gained nothing. It was their duty therefore to see that they rewarded you in a suitable manner and no one knew this so well as he. Your reward, I said, must be proportioned to his rank and your greatness, and he had to choose the best way of doing this. He then went away, saying that he would come again some time to-day and report the result.' The Governor said that the matter had to be settled at once, as he would get more while the disturbances still continued. I said that I would try to have it settled to-morrow or the day after. 'Do so,' he said.

The Governor then said, 'I told you to take what was due to the Company on account of the copper, and pay what is due to me on that account, to the Company's merchants against the lakh of rupees borrowed of them; but you have credited my share to the Company instead of to me, and shown the Company's

share as having been paid to the merchants on my account.' I replied, 'M. Cornet took a receipt from me, and you directed me to set off the larger amount against the blue cloth and lampasses. Moreover M. Cornet required a receipt for this larger sum, so I entered it to the Company's account. What harm has been done? If you are pleased to give me an order for 6,100 and odd pagodas, I will pay it to the Company and that will end the matter.' The Governor asked how much copper I had taken. I said, 279 candies and 428 pounds. He asked how much had been given to the merchants on account of his debts to them. I replied, 209 candies and 425 [pounds ?]. He then asked what would be the result if the latter were entered in the Company's account, and the former in mine. 'In that case,' I said, 'the accounts would have to be re-written.'—'Very well,' he said, 'enter the price and quantity of the copper you have taken.' I agreed, and wrote the details as follows:—

	Pagodas.	Fanams.	Cash.
279 candies and 428 pounds of copper bars at 91 Porto Novo pagodas *per* candy ...	25,470	3	25
Batta on star pagodas at 3 *per cent*	764	2½	...
Therefore the cost is star pagodas or at 350 rupees *per* 100 pagodas 76,471[1] rupees and 57 cash.	24,706	...	57

[1] This should be 86,471 rupees.

I then gave the details of his accounts as paid to the merchants:—

	Pagodas.	Fanams.	Cash.
209 candies, 425 pounds of copper bars at 91 Porto Novo pagodas *per* candy	(Porto Novo) 19,099	13¾	...
Batta on star pagodas at 3 *per cent*	573	...	...
Therefore the cost is star pagodas	18,526	13¾	...
or at 350 rupees *per* 100 pagodas 64,842 rupees and 6¼ fanams.			

The Governor then said, 'But Porto Novo pagodas are 8¼ touch, Pondichery pagodas are 8 touch and Star pagodas are the same. Why then should star pagodas carry a batta?' I replied, 'They did not when [Porto Novo] pagodas were 8¼ touch; but the latter have lowered to 7¾ or 7½, so they are inferior.' [ ].

Friday, July 24.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked where Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops had encamped yesterday and what news there was about them. I replied, 'There is a village named Pullâl near Tiruvêndipuram, situated half-way between the Pennâr and the Gadilam about half a mile north-west of Tiruppâppuliyûr. I hear that there is encamped the army commanded by Muhammad 'Alî Khân (son of Anwar-ud-dîn

[1] *12th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

Khân, the former Nawâb of Arcot who was killed in battle by the French), his brother 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân (faujdar of Nellore), Khair-ud-dîn Khân (Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son-in-law), 'Abd-ul-jalîl Khân, Dîwân Muhammad Abrâr, Muhammad Masîh Khân, Saiyid Muhammad, Jemadar Badê Sâhib (son of Husain Tâhir), and other jemadars whose names I do not know.'

The following are the details of the army :—

Under Nizâm-ud-daulah—

Horsemen	3,000
Matchlock-people	255
Rocket-people	24
Field-pieces[1]	40
Artillery men	13
Cannon called *Rêdu*[2]	3

Under Anwar-ud-dîn Khân[3]—

Horsemen	4,600
Peons	4,000
Matchlock-people	445
Rocket-people	16
Long matchlocks[4]	30
Field-pieces	11

[1] The word used is *rakkalah*, for which see Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 139.

[2] This is perhaps meant for *ra'd* (= thunder).

[3] *i.e.*, Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who announced that he had been granted his father's title in a letter to Floyer received December 6/17, 1749 (*Country Corrce.*, 1749, p. 63).

[4] The text has *lambachanda.* I take it that a species of gingal is meant. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, etc.

Sepoy-guards	52
Camel-guards	10
Under Mr. Cope—	
Europeans	700
Sepoys, peons, etc.	2,300
Field-pieces	13
Tavai (what gun this is, I do not know)[1]	4
Horsemen	25

I gave these details to the Governor, and informed him that they had been sent by Venkatêsan (Mîr Asad's harkara in Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp) to Mîr Asad at Arcot, in a letter which had been intercepted, the bearer having been seized by people belonging to the Europeans at Villupuram yesterday afternoon, and sent with the letters to the Honourable Governor, who sent them to me. I gave them to Râmânji Pandit to be translated into Telugu with the help of Kôdandarâma Ayyan and Sêshagiri Pandit, gumastah of Shaikh Sâhib of Porto Novo. The harkara on being asked his name and what he was doing, said that he was a peon named Sandâsi. When the Persian letters with the camp news brought by peon Sandâsi had been translated into Telugu, about seven o'clock in the evening, I took them to the Governor, accompanied by the peon,

[1] Unidentified.

Sêshagiri Pandit and Kôdandarâma Ayyan. The Honourable Governor was upstairs in the Fort house, so I went there with the three others and reported the news in detail. The Governor gave the letters back to the camp harkara, Sandâsi, telling him to carry them to his master. He also gave him batta and sent a Company's peon to escort him secretly beyond the bounds.

Saturday, July 25.[1]—About six o'clock this morning there was the sound of many guns at Fort St. David and out to sea. I suppose shipping must have arrived or sailed. I hear that 37 chests of silver on account of the Dutch affair[2] have been sent out, by a ship[3] commanded by [ ]. M. Soude[4], who owes me money, Desfresnes and others are said to be on board her. The contents of the 37 chests of silver are reckoned at 10,000 marcs. I also hear that the *Achille* was to sail for India with this ship and that she will arrive in seven or eight days. The present ship has brought much firewood.

The Governor sent for me and said that M. Bury would give me money and letters to be sent to the Europeans at Tiruviti and

[1] *13th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

[2] Probably the compensation paid by the Dutch for their having purchased Barnett's prizes in 1745.

[3] Apparently *La Reine.* See below.

[4] Cf. Vol. IV, p. 385 *supra.*

Villupuram. I said they should be sent. M. Bury said he would send them by the soldier who is his writer.

The Governor then asked the news from Arcot. I said there was none. 'Is there any Cuddalore news?' he asked. I said, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the rest are still encamped at Pullâl, Kondûr, etc., near Tiruppâppuliyûr. Rice and other provisions are scarce in camp, and many are starving. Mr. Cope who went in has not been allowed to come out again and Muhammad 'Alî Khân is troubled, as Mr. Lawrence who is Governor at present says that he will give no orders until the new Governor comes. I have also heard that 500 horsemen have been sent to Porto Novo, Bhuvanagiri, etc.'

Just then the captain of the ship from Mascareigne came, and the Governor talked with him and read letters, so I went to the nut-godown.

About seven o'clock, he sent for me and told me to get the agreement Chandâ Sâhib had promised to give for the payment of an annual present. I said I would do so and came away.

At four, he sent for me again and asked if there was any news from Arcot. I said, 'No.' He then asked if there was any news from Cuddalore. I said that there was nothing more than I had told him this morning. He then

drove out, and I went to the nut-godown. As he was about to get into his carriage, M. Soude and another European came and it seems they were told to return later as he was just going out.

When I was going to the nut-godown, M. Soude asked me how I was. 'By your favour,' I replied, 'I am well.' When I had returned the compliment, M. Soude said, 'Why the devil should you have tried to injure me by complaining to Europe against me?' I defended my conduct, in that I was only seeking what was due to me. He said that he had brought some oranges and asked if I should like some. 'As many as you please,' I replied. He asked me to get six palankin-boys for him and went away, saying that he would come to my office to-morrow to talk about certain matters.

At six o'clock the Governor sent for me and asked if there was any Arcot news. I said 'No.' As he was displeased at this, I pointed out that the people could only write what they heard, and that they could not write if they heard nothing.

He then said that news of the capture of Masulipatam might have reached Arcot and asked why we had not yet heard anything about it. I replied that good news was published at once, but that this news would not be published, for fear of its being known to all.

M. Barthélemy and M. Friell then came, so I came away. At eight o'clock he sent for me again and said that although the troops encamped at Valudâvûr had been ordered to move to Karaiyâmputtûr, they had gone to Soppûr[1] instead and asked where it was. [He said] that they had only been induced to move with difficulty.

He added, 'Rice sells at 1½—1¾ measures. As paddy is selling at five measures, have it published by beat of tom-tom to-morrow that rice should be sold at two measures.' Dôst Muhammad said that that would be charitable and glorious of him. But I said, 'This is not the time to impose restrictions. Not a single grain of corn is coming in, but, by the Governor's good fortune, the crops have been as immeasurable as the sea and there is abundant grain on sale. But if restrictions are imposed, those who have grain will hesitate to sell it; but you may do as you please.' He replied that if special orders were given or if I spoke sharply to them, they would sell. I went at once to the nut-godown and told Periyanna Nayinâr to proclaim by beat of tom-tom that rice should be sold at two measures.

At six o'clock this evening a letter came from M. Guillard at Masulipatam. The Gov-

1 I presume Sorappûr, in the Villupuram taluk.

ernor told me that it brought the following news :—M. Coquet, M. de La Selle, etc., of the Masulipatam factory have been released and escorted to M. Guillard's house with music and dancing by Coja Qalandar Khân's nobles. They said that as Nâsîr Jang was their master, they could not disobey his orders, but lodged the prisoners well and treated them respectfully, as M. Coquet and the others would declare, so that they were blameless. With these words they sent dishes for a feast. Coja Qalandar Khân is shaking with fear.

The peons who brought the letter report that all the inhabitants have been allowed to return and follow their various occupations in quiet. It has also been proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that our people only intend to benefit the inhabitants, to expel our enemies and protect the merchants and traders. As the sepoys and Europeans were warned that they would be hung if they stole a single dry leaf, not a thorn has been broken ; and the inhabitants will rejoice, as they are ruled with justice. All those who fled from the town have returned, including even the Dutch and their families.[1]

[1] The French vessels arrived before Masulipatam on July 11, and took possession of the Fort without the least opposition. The Moghuls attempted to blockade the place, but quickly desisted. Pondichery to the Company, September 9, 1750 (*Arch. des Col.*).

Daivanâyaka Chetti came to-night and gave me the following details about the prices, etc., of the goods ready to be sent to Mocha, according to the agreement made with M. Glainville :—

Superior unbleached blue cloth (Dutch sort) Mohur pattern, 60 corge at 28 pagodas ;

Salampores blue, 9 kâls, 90 corge at 28½ pagodas ;

Salampores brown, 9 kâls, 50 corge at 23 pagodas ;

Blue cloth, fine, 9 kâls, 15 corge at 16½ pagodas.

Daivanâyaka Chetti added that the customs duty, charity dues[1] and cost of packing were to be borne by M. Glainville ; that payment was to be made at 360 rupees *per* 100 pagodas ; the goods were to be delivered for sorting by October 15, at Pondichery, Cuddalore or Porto Novo. The concerned are Kangipâti Vîrâ Chetti, Karanapuram Tiruppali Chetti and Daivanâyaka Chetti ; the first has 1½ shares, the second 1¼ and the third 1—3¾ shares in all. Such are the terms of agreement. He also promised me one *per cent* commission. Moreover 150 candies of Batavia sugar at 59 rupees *per* candy are needed. Fifty corge blue

[1] Transit dues frequently included small duties payable to temples and other religious or charitable institutions. See Love's *Vestiges*, II, pp. 111, etc., for opposition (on religious grounds) to such payments.

cloth, Dutch sort, at 28 [pagodas] the corge were also ordered in Âni last at 350 rupees *per* 100 pagodas ; these are to be delivered to the Europeans for sorting by Tennavarâya Mudali and two advances have been made on them amounting to 3,855 rupees.

Sunday, July 26.[1]—On returning from Church, the Governor asked the news. I said that I had received none from Arcot, but that a man from Cuddalore said that Mr. Lawrence had refused help before reinforcements arrived to guard Fort St. David, declaring that he could do nothing of himself without orders, that Mr. Floyer had become his enemy, that he was helpless and that a decision would be taken when the matter had been fully considered. The Governor observed that Mr. Lawrence could give no orders, as Mr. Prince[2] at Madras would not allow him to. I agreed.

As we were thus talking M. de St. Paul came and said that there were constant complaints at Âsârappan's wife's affair not yet being settled, as he distributes the pay to the Company's lascars and has not paid them. Thereupon the Governor called and questioned me about it. I replied, 'Sûrappa

[1] *14th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

[2] Reading *poranju* for *loranju*, a copyist's error.

Mudali petitioned complaining that only part of the goods had been delivered to him. When arbitration was proposed, he mentioned M. Delarche's name, expecting him to decide in his favour. I therefore proposed M. Delarche ; but the Second objected and said two persons must be proposed for each party.' The Governor said that he would appoint some one on his side ; and M. de St. Paul then went away.

When [the Governor] then asked what the matter was, I told him what should be done. He agreed.

When two baskets of Mascareigne oranges were brought to him, the Governor sent for jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân and showing him the 200 oranges, told him to send them to Saiyid Sâhib at Arcot and write to him as follows :—

'Nâsîr Jang is displeased with Muhammad 'Alî as he can do nothing, now that the promised English help has failed ; and his mind is soured by the defeat and death of Durga Dâs Khân and others at Chingleput and the seizure of Masulipatam. Let the sweetness of these oranges remove the bitterness of his heart.' 'Abd-ul-rahmân had a letter written by Madanânda Pandit accordingly and departed with it. I went to the nut-godown.

M. Soude then came and said that he would pay half of what he promised two or three

days ago, on account of my debt. I replied, 'That cannot be done. My creditors trouble me and you must pay the whole.'—'Well, look here,' he said, 'in a year, I shall be able to lend you 10,000 pagodas.'—'I do not want that,' I replied; 'I do not wish to borrow from any one again, but to free myself by getting in my debts and paying off my creditors. I want no more loans.' He then related some Europe news and his own experiences from beginning to end, and so departed.

The Governor went to dine at M. Barthélemy's at noon. He sent for me at three o'clock and said, 'The *Achille*, on which M. de La Bourdonnais formerly came here, has anchored in the roads. She then caused him much anxiety, and at last was the cause of his imprisonment in Europe. His brother, M. de La Villebague who sailed for Europe, died just before his arrival. This ill-omened vessel has now reached the roads.' As he was speaking, the salute began.

He asked if any news had been received from Arcot. I said, 'Yes,' and as Subbayyan's younger brother read a cadjan letter, I interpreted it as follows:—'As Nâsîr Jang is troubled in mind, he has ordered Mîr A'azam Khân to raise 2,000 horse. He is angry with Muhammad 'Alî Khân for having accomplished nothing all this time and has

recalled him. Khâzi Dâyem and Râmadâs Pandit have been sent to Muzaffar Jang, who was starving himself, to comfort him and persuade him to eat. The twenty soldiers who deserted from Pondichery have been taken into service and supplied with food and drink. Muzaffar Khân sent Saiyid Sâhib some glassware for use at meals, and a small cannon. Saiyid Sâhib showed them to Nâsîr Jang but he told him to take them away. Nâsîr Jang has read a letter brought from Masulipatam and ordered the bearers to conceal the news.' When I reported this to the Governor, he observed that the Arcot people were all asleep. 'What else can be expected?' I asked.

The captain of the *Achille* sent the Europe letters ashore by the Second Lieutenant[1] with a message that he would land to-morrow. When he arrived, the Governor put on his coat and sword and went a few steps to meet him. When he perceived that he was not the captain, he nevertheless asked him to sit down, and after some conversation took the letters into his room. I went to the nut-godown.

This ship has brought 145 chests of silver[2] and 20 bales of broad cloth. I have not heard

1 Literally, 'by the third,' *i.e.*, the third in command.

2 40,000 marcs of silver were consigned to Pondichery by her. (*Mémoire pour la Compagnie contre le sieur Dupleix*, *Pieces*, p. 119.)

what else she has on board, but I hear that she has brought much firewood from Mascareigne.

Tuesday, *July 28.*[1]—The Europe ship sighted about six o'clock last night anchored in the roads at half-past six this morning and fired a salute. At eight o'clock the captain brought the Europe letters ashore to the Governor who told me that this ship had left France on February 27, and sighted the roads yesterday, after a voyage of five months.

He also said that she had brought 250 marcs' weight of gold lace as desired by the merchants, that the name of the ship was *La Reine* and that of the captain M. La Palissière [?], and that she had 135 chests of silver.[2] M. Duvelaer[3] sent me a letter enclosed in the Governor's. The Governor gave it to M. Boyelleau for me, then called me and asked what M. Duvelaer said. I replied that I had not yet read it, and went out to do so. He says (after compliments):—'Regarding your demand last year for payment of the money owed you by M. Soude, I now reply

[1] *16th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

[2] 40,000 marcs is the amount as given by the Company (*Memoiré ut supra*).

[3] Duvelaer served for some time first as *employé* and then as *Directeur* at Canton (*Del. du cons., sup.*, Vol. II, pp. 53 and 307). In 1744 he became a director of the Company, and continued as such until 1755 (Weber, p. 452). He it was who was sent on the mission to London in 1753 to arrange terms of peace if possible.

that as he has gone out and as he has money due at Mascareigne, I have written to M. David to collect the amount, and send it to you, and desired M. Soude at the same time to go to Pondichery and settle accounts with you. He will do so. I send a declaration regarding the lungis which will explain everything.'

I took a Persian letter to the Governor with the spectacles. He read it and returned it to me.

He then said that I must get a note from the merchants for what they had promised to give me and another about the Chidambaram business. I agreed and came away.

When the Governor was at the Fort at half-past three, he sent for me and asked if there was any news from Cuddalore. I replied that a Brâhman on his way from Tiruppâppuliyûr to Âlambarai, and one of my peons who had returned, both told me this morning that the English who had been declaring till the day before yesterday that they would not help Muhammad 'Alî Khân, had yesterday agreed to help him and sent out Mr. Cope and other Europeans to his assistance with some 24-pounders. He asked how many Europeans were said to have gone. I told him about 500 Europeans and 3,000 sepoys, Carnatic peons, etc., and added that as our people were threatening them on both sides, they could

not go far. He said that the English might go as far as Tiruvennanallûr or Gingee.* 'We shall see,' I said. Leaving this matter, he asked the news from Arcot. I said I had none. He then went to inspect the second court, after inspecting the upper floor, with M. Glainville, who has come from Europe. Father François also came, and all talked together. I waited till six o'clock, and then went to the nut-godown.

The Governor sent for me soon after his return home.

Kalichiya Pillai who was despatched yesterday afternoon returned and reported as follows:—'Mr. Cope arrived at Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp near Tiruvêndipuram at nine o'clock last night with 500 soldiers, 3,000 sepoys and large and small guns. I spent the night in Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp, and left this morning. I hear that they intend to march to-morrow towards Tiruviti and those parts. Their camp is near Bâhûr where there are only 20 or 30 peons with a few sepoys and Europeans; so reinforcements should be sent.' The Governor observed that they would retire towards Porto Novo or the jemadars themselves would capture Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I said, 'God grant it!' I think he said this because Muzaffar Khân came to him five or

six days ago and told him that Muhammad 'Alî Khân was in great difficulties, that his jemadars had made proposals to desert Muhammad 'Alî Khân, take service with him (Muzaffar Khân) and even betray Muhammad 'Alî. The Governor believed this and ordered Muzaffar Khân to tell the horsemen and jemadars to seize and bring in Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I think the Governor was indifferent, because Muzaffar Khân told him that he had sent word accordingly and also told Chandâ Sâhib that the matter would be over in five or six days in order to please both.

He then asked about various matters regarding which I returned answers.

He then told me about a letter from M. de La Touche encamped at Soranâvûr with the Europeans and sepoys. It says, 'A deserter from the English camp tells me that Mr. Cope arrived last night with 900 soldiers, 2,000 sepoys, 24-pounders, powder, shot, grenades and other munitions of war. I send the deserter who will report everything.' The Governor sent for the English deserter and M. Friell, and ordered the latter to interpret what he said. M. Friell interpreted as follows:—[

].

Head-peon Sântappan came at ten o'clock to-night, and standing near Sadâsiva Pillai's

house said, 'At five o'clock this evening, the Bâhûr fort was captured and 30 or 35 peons were wounded and taken prisoners at the fort. One of the peons was wounded in the hand but escaped and reported this news to the Governor, who ordered me to bring him to you and tell you the news, but as he was much hurt, he has been taken to the hospital to be dressed. He will come as soon as that has been done. On hearing his news, the Governor wrote to M. de La Touche, and ordered the letter to be sent off at once. I gave it to two peons, had the gates opened and the letter despatched, and now have come here to tell you the news. If Madame learns of my coming, I shall be ruined, so she must know nothing of it. Her activity against you is indescribable. She complains to every one that you have bewitched the Governor and her anger to-day against you is boundless. As head-peon, Savarimuttu, and Ranga Pillai, the manager of Villiyanallûr are on bad terms, the former is here and has been spitting out tales against you day and night. Moreover Pâpayya Pillai eggs her on by complaining that your people are extorting money at Covelong.' When he reported all this, I said, 'Let all this be, and tell me whether the English people captured Bâhûr or Muhammad 'Alî Khân's people.' He replied he had heard

from a peon that 4,000 of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's horsemen had surrounded and taken the place. 'Very well, you may go,' I said. He went away accordingly.

Wednesday, July 29.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked when Chandâ Sâhib said he would bring the agreement. I told him the agreement had been already written out and sealed and could be brought whenever he wished. 'Well,' he said, 'let him bring it this evening.' I agreed. He continued, 'Don't let it appear as if I had proposed the matter. It must look as if he had compelled me to accept it out of his gratitude for my services. No one must know that I spoke to you about it or that you proposed it.' I replied, 'Shall I, who put this thought into your mind and told you that the time had come to get his promise, give ground to suspect you? Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib, Mîr A'azam and myself alone know what pains I have taken. As regards the amount now mentioned, little by little I made father and son realize their indebtedness and execute an agreement to pay ten lakhs when they were in possession of country yielding three lakhs of rupees of revenue. This agreement is now in my possession.'—'Where is it?

[1] *17th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

Where is it?' he cried. I took it out of my pocket and showed it him. He looked at it and returned it, desiring me to ask Chandâ Sâhib and his son to deliver it this evening. I said I would do so.

Then 'Abd-ul-rahmân came and reported the arrival of four vakîls on behalf of the jemadars in Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp, with a cowle in the handwriting of Shaikh Hasan's munshi for 1,360 horse. The Governor told Madanânda Pandit to read it and report the contents. From his dictation the Governor made a note of the names of the jemadars and the number of horse under each, amounting in all to 1,360. He then asked whether Chandâ Sâhib knew of the despatch of the vakîls and the agreement of the horse to come over to us. They said he did. The Governor then told 'Abd-ul-rahmân to desire Chandâ Sâhib to discuss the matter of the vakîls this evening.

Mîr A'azam then came and said that the Nawâb Sâhib had asked him to report the news that Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English had come to terms, that they had marched from Pullâl in the Fort St. David bounds to Pattâmpâkkam and those parts, that therefore the time for action had arrived and that in his army[ ]

AUGUST 1750.

Saturday, August 1.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked the Arcot news. I said there was none. He then asked where our troops and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's were. I replied that news had come last night that our army was at Soranâvûr and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's at Pakkirippâlaiyam and Ândippâlaiyam, hamlets near Kavarappattu, that M. Sombreuil who commands the Tiruviti fort had opened fire with his guns on the cavalry as it marched by, that two or three persons had reported this, but that there was no other news. He then asked whether I had heard the sound of guns last night. I said I had heard the sound of guns four times in the night, and added that Rangô Pandit, amaldâr at the Tiruviti fort, had written that in the fight on Wednesday evening, 150 had been killed and an unknown number wounded, that a flag-elephant had been wounded, and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army was never free from fear.

Sunday, August 2.[2]—Two of my peons with Lachi Râm's peon at Tiruviti, came at half-past six this morning, and said, 'We come

[1] *20th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

[2] *21st Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

from Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp. Muhammad 'Alî Khân left his camp and camp-followers at Pûngunam, Kanisapâkkam, etc., and fought yesterday from noon to sunset, with his cavalry, the English, Mahé sepoys,[1] Bombay people, etc., his own sepoys armed with firelocks and his peons, etc., against our army which had marched to Mâligamêdu from Soranâvûr. An officer and a few Europeans and sepoys were wounded and two Europeans and a few Mahé sepoys killed on our side. 150 of Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army were killed and a vast number wounded. 100 or 150 horses were killed and some wounded. One cannon was damaged at the muzzle and their people fled in all directions.' I listened to all this and took him to the Governor to whom I reported this news in detail [ ].

Monday, August 3.[2]—I went this morning to M. Panon's and asked him for 2,000 out of 4,000 rupees which Chandâ Sâhib wants to borrow. He replied, 'If Mîr 'Alî Akbar Sâhib (Mîr Ghulâm Husain's son-in-law) will pay what he owes me, I will give the 2,000 rupees. I have already lent 1,000 rupees. I gave 1,500 rupees for the Mîrâpalli garden. In all the amount comes to 4,500 rupees.' I replied, 'Nawâbs seldom pay according to

[1] *i.e.*, Sepoys in the English service from Malabar.
[2] *22nd Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

their promises; and the one transaction has nothing to do with the other. If you are willing to lend, do so; otherwise say that you have no money. Can they not go elsewhere? They will manage somehow.'—'They cannot get money in any other way,' he replied. I agreed and took leave.

M. Miran and M. Boyelleau had just come, and having taken leave of them, I went to the Governor's. He asked the news. I said that things were all right. He then asked if I had news from Tiruviti. I replied, 'My peon came to me at seven o'clock last night and said that Mr. Cope had returned to Fort St. David and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army had marched westwards towards Gingee. But I do not believe this. I heard by letter that Mr. Cope had removed his camp west of the Tiruviti fort, that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops were camping in the mango and jambu[1] topes at Siruvattûr on the banks of the Gadilam, and that a detachment of horse was camped at Panruti Peddu Reddi's Choultry and Annâvayyangâr's house.'

He then asked the Cuddalore news. I replied, 'Mr. Cope is rumoured to believe that his men have been demoralised by the fight of the day before yesterday; he is like

[1] See *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. *Jamboo*.

a cat on a wall; if they succeed, he will claim their success as owing to him (like a mån demanding more than his share of a successful venture) and will demand possession of the Tiruviti fort and country; but, if they fail, he will say he was only a middle man and an on-looker at the fight.'

I further said I had received a letter, written at nine o'clock last night, reporting that some of our people from Mâligamêdu had gone to the Tiruviti country and to Tiruviti town; and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's horsemen, and his sepoys armed with firelocks, seeing the march of our troops, had followed them as far as Peddu Reddi's Choultry where our people took post.

A chobdar from Fort St. David then came. The Governor said, 'I allow you to come to my room and speak with me, but our chobdars are treated as if our nations were at war instead of being allies. Why is it?' He replied, 'Mr. Lawrence does so because he is new. I will tell him what you say and ask him to treat your people better. The people in Europe have dismissed the Governor and others in anger at their having charged large sums in the accounts and appropriated the money.' The Governor dismissed him saying he would write a reply later. The chobdar accordingly departed.

The Governor then gave me an order on M. Barthélemy for 20,000 rupees for the purchase of red-wood and told me to get the money and procure the goods.

Saiyid Madad-ud-dîn came at six o'clock. I went to see Chandâ Sâhib about the business on which the former had come and only reached home after eleven o'clock.

Tuesday, August 4.[1]—I went to M. Barthélemy's house at half-past six this morning with the order for 20,000 rupees which the Governor gave for the purchase of red-wood. He read it, asked for a receipt, and said that he would go to the Fort and issue the money. I endorsed the order accordingly and gave it to Varadappa Nâyakkan, son of Mannâru Nâyakkan, telling him to get 20,000 rupees and give them to Chidambara Mudali of my house. Then I went to the nut-godown.

The Governor's peon came for me. When I went, he questioned me about the letter received from Tiruviti last night. I replied, 'Our army lies between the Tiruviti fort and the villages. When Muhammad 'Alî Khân's horse marching home towards Panruti saw Shaikh Hasan with some horsemen and sepoys, they fled in disorder. One of their horsemen fired at a mounted dragoon, as he

[1] 23rd Âdi, Pramôdûta.

withdrew, and wounded him in the leg. There is no news except what I received and reported to you last night. There was no fighting either yesterday or the day before.'

He then asked the news from Arcot. I said that there was none, and added that M. Vincens[1] had returned this morning with the detachment and elephants, after delivering at Tiruviti the powder, shot, and provisions sent thither by elephant on the afternoon of the day before yesterday.

He then asked what had passed when I went to Chandâ Sâhib's last night. I replied that when I went with the Brâhman, I found there Saiyid Madad-ud-dîn, the messenger from 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân and Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân, with Chandâ Sâhib, his son Razâ Sâhib and Hâji Fâzil, Muzaffar Jang's agent. I write below in brief what took place there from first to last, and what I said in reply to their questions.

Saiyid Madad-ud-dîn said,' 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân, Sânôji Nimbâlakar, Râjâ Râmachandra Râo (Râjâ Chandrasênan's son), 'Abd-ul-wazîr Khân (brother of the Subahdar of Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram) and others being assembled, Nâsîr Jang ordered their Pathan horsemen to serve under

[1] At this time a lieutenant in the Company's service; son of Madame Dupleix by her first husband.

Muhammad 'Alî Khân. But they did not agree and informed you that, though they would march with Muhammad 'Alî Khân as ordered, they would slay him and depart when, at the sight of your army, he came to their camp to consult them. They proposed further that, if you pretended to pursue them, they would march to Arcot and either capture Nâsîr Jang or compass his death. You replied that, in that case, Muzaffar Jang would be endangered, and that therefore Nâsîr Jang should be killed while your army slew Muhammad 'Alî Khân. To this we agreed. If now you order Muhammad 'Alî Khân to be put to death, we will do what may be necessary and obey your orders. You may regard us as yourselves, no less. Moreover Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân and 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân have written with compliments saying that other matters will be reported by me.' I then told the Governor that these letters had been delivered to me. The Governor observed that Muhammad 'Alî Khân would fall at once if Nâsîr Jang could be got rid of. I replied, 'Their proposals show that they think themselves able to make away with Nâsîr Jang only in case we send an army.' The Governor merely said, 'Yes, perhaps so.'

I then interpreted 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân's and Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân's letters which after

compliments said that Saiyid Madad-ud-dîn would explain all things. 'Yes,' the Governor said and told me to ask Chandâ Sâhib and Saiyid Madad-ud-dîn to come this evening. So I sent word by Krishna Râo.

A letter then came from M. Le Riche at Kârikâl, saying that the Râjâ of Tanjore had imprisoned Manôji Appâ[1], Pâvâdai Nâyakkan and 32 others. The Governor remarked that his reign was not likely to continue. I replied, 'Formerly the country was under Carnatic rulers and then fell into the hands of the Muhammadans and Marathas. The Carnatic rulers were weak and disputed among themselves, so power passed to the Muhammadans and Marathas; but these two have been weak and disunited. I know not into whose hands God will now deliver it.' The Governor smiled and said that the Râjâ of Tanjore had acted on the advice of Gâdai Râo. I replied, 'This Gâdai Râo married his daughter to Nânâ Sâhib's son, and when Chandâ Sâhib marched against Tanjore, intrigued in order to get the throne for his son-in-law. I know not what

[1] The minister whom at a later date the English found such difficulty in maintaining in power. His principal rival was Gâdai Râo. (the 'Gauderow' of Orme), uncle to Pratâb Singh mentioned below. These two do not seem as yet to have taken definite sides in the Anglo-French troubles. At the moment Dupleix seems to have regarded Manôji more favourably than Gâdai Râo. Cf. a letter written by Le Riche to 'Paranaiken' [? Pavâdai Nâyakkan] on August 1, 1750 (P.R. No. 19, ff. 119 etc.).

deceit has prompted Gâdai Râo to advise the Râjâ thus.' The Governor at once wrote about this to M. Le Riche at Kârikâl.

Then the Second came, and the Governor asked how Dutch-cut diamonds were selling. I replied that they were selling at 44¾ pagodas, or, if the 9 *per cent* discount were reckoned in, 48 pagodas gross.[1] On learning this, he told M. St. Paul to write to Kârikâl about it.

Wednesday, August 5.[2]—I went to the Governor this morning and reported the Arcot news as follows :—Muhammad 'Alî Khân wrote to Nâsîr Jang that his army had stormed Bâhûr fort and fought two battles, but that the English were doing nothing and had given no assistance ; that therefore the countries promised before must be offered them[3] ; and that provisions must be sent as they were much needed. Thereupon Nâsîr Jang summoned Shâh Nawâz Khân and others, showed them the letter, and said, ' See what he writes! He is a coward. Let him be recalled.' But Mubâriz Khân advised the contrary. Shâh

[1] Probably *per Manjâdi*.

[2] *24th Âdi, Pramôdûta*.

[3] 'The countries promised before' were those dependent on Poonamallee. In the previous June Muhammad 'Alî had assured the English that a grant had been duly drawn out (*F. St. D. Cons.*, June 26, 1750). In July the English appear to have taken possession with Muhammad 'Alî's approval (*Pub. Cons.*, July 18, 1750). But the grant itself was only received on January 9, 1751, after Nâsîr Jang's death.

Nawâz Khân considered that what Muhammad 'Alî Khân said was false, that he [
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I also told him further news from Arcot, as follows:—Nâsîr Jang wasat Timiri hunting deer, when he received Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter saying that he had tied *tôranams* at Bâhûr, broken through the Pondichery camp, and twice fought boldly. Thereupon Nâsîr Jang remarked that, although Muhammad 'Alî Khân had hitherto done nothing, yet he had somehow lost a few men. Shâh Nawâz Khân replied that he was not believed when he said before that Muhammad 'Alî Khân could manage nothing, that he was sent to show what he really was like and that his remaining in the field would secure nothing but disgrace. Thereupon Nâsîr Jang ordered him to be recalled. But Mubâriz Khân said that that would not be proper, and that he should wait a while. Muhammad 'Alî Khân complained in his letter that the English were doing nothing because they had not received the country promised, and that therefore orders should be sent about it as well as provisions. Nâsîr Jang said nothing in reply, but asked Shâh Nawâz Khân, Khâzi Dâyem, Morô Pandit and Râmadâs Pandit to go to Muzaffar Jang and tell him that he might be easy in mind for he would be given a dress

of honour in five or six days. They went to Muzaffar Jang accordingly and reported what Nâsîr Jang had said.

After reporting the foregoing, I related that Akbar Sâhib had written to Chandâ Sâhib, saying that his affair would be finished in five or six days and that as Durga Dâs Khân had been killed in attacking Chingleput, Jabbhû Sikandar Khân who was near Olalûr with 1,000 horse hoping to take Chingleput, wrote to the killedar that he would return to Arcot on receiving 40,000 rupees for his expenses, but that the latter had refused to do so, alleging that the fort was held by people belonging to the Governor of Pondichery and Chandâ Sâhib.

Just then Muzaffar Khân and Dôst Muhammad arrived. There is news from Tiruviti that Mr. Cope desired Muhammad 'Alî Khân's leave to depart, but that the latter begged him to wait three more days. They discussed the camp news and Nâsîr Jang's hunting at Timiri and his going to Arcot for Ramzan.

At three o'clock this afternoon the Governor sent for me and asked the news from Tiruviti. Two peons had just come from Tiruviti with a letter from Rangô Pandit and said that at three o'clock this morning 250 Europeans under a captain, having marched round the English army which lay in between, beat up Muhammad

'Alî Khân's camp, and fired into it thrice. On this Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops attacked one another in their confusion. They suffered countless losses by reason of our attack and firing on each other. One of our officers has returned with a wound in the hand; two Europeans were wounded by arrows. Shaikh Hasan and the Muhammadans knew nothing of the Europeans' attack. When I related all this, he asked if it was true. I replied that the amaldâr of the place had written an account about it.

Afterwards the Governor wrote to Mr. Lawrence,[1] the Major who is Governor of Fort St. David until the arrival of Mr. Saunders, and to the Negapatam council,[2] so he could not go out. When he had written these letters, he came to me and said, 'About our pulling down the Dutch flag at Masulipatam, the Negapatam council have written that the place was given to them by the Pâdshâh, that they

[1] See *French Correspondence*, 1750, p. 26.

[2] The letter is to be found in *P.R.* No. 15, f. 424. It states that the Dutch could not be allowed to fly their flag at Masulipatam without the special sanction of the French King, but that Guillard had orders in no wise to interfere with Dutch trade. Dupleix added, 'Nous pensons que, si vous aviez voulu joindre vos sollicitations à celles des principaux marchands de Mazulipatam pour la delivrance des Srs. Coquet et Lasalle, nous ne nous fussions point trouvés dans le cas de nous emparer de cette ville.' A few weeks later the Dutch landed a party of 21 soldiers there, but were constrained to withdraw them (*Loc. cit.*, ff. 442–443). They seem to have displayed a political ineptitude similar to that which ruined their expedition to Bengal.

had his orders for flying their flag, and that we ought not to have pulled it down. I have replied that they were right so long as the place belonged to the Pâdshâh; but that we have captured it; as both flags cannot fly there, we have ordered theirs to be pulled down, and that they can hoist their flag there only when they produce the orders of the King of France. I replied that he was right. He then said, 'As for the English [. . . . .].

Thursday, August 6.[1]—It was written to camp that 'Alî Khân and his younger brother should be imprisoned.

I copy below the inventory taken to-day by the choultry writer, head-peon Nayinâr, Sântappan (the Company's head-peon) and Muzaffar Khân's man, a Brâhman, of what was found in the house[2] and what was brought in from outside. Muzaffar Khân said that money, etc., had been removed; but it is false. Only seven horses and elephants, 13 guns and 5 bundles of women's cloths were removed; all the rest was locked up in a box in the house. Alagappa Mudali (the choultry-writer), Natarâjan (younger brother of Sîyâlam, the country writer), Sântappan (the Company's head-peon), head-peon Nayinâr and

[1] *25th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*
[2] *Sc.* occupied by 'Alî Khân.

Gôvindappan told me that a bronze lamp, carpets, etc., were locked up in the house. I asked if they had reported this to the Governor. They said that he had got angry with them when they began to do so and that therefore they had come away.

I give below a list of the articles found in 'Alî Khân's house by the choultry [writer] Alagappa Mudali, Natarâja Pillai (the country writer), the Company's head-peon Sântappan and Gôvindappan, the poligar's head-peon, and written in the presence of Muzaffar Khân's people :—

Muskets	23
Swords	21
Pistols	2

A bundle of women's cloths containing 37 old and 30 new, and 560 jewels valued at 3,048 rupees.

Pondichery and Star pagodas	125
Gold coin	1
Palankins	3
Horses	8
Cows and buffaloes	8
Gold bangles	2
Silver bangles	10
Head ornaments set with precious stones.	3 pairs.
Gold bangles	2 pairs.
Rose-water sprinkler of silver	1
Silver bells	3 pairs.

Muzaffar Khân went to the Governor about one o'clock last night and said, ''Alî Khân and his younger brother sent to Muhammad

'Alî Khân, proposing to take service under him, with 600 sepoys and 200 troopers. They agreed to serve for 500 rupees each and departed, with sepoys escorting bullock-loads of rice and other provisions, with their elephants, horses, women's cloths, bullocks and other cattle, cows and she-buffaloes, etc. When this news came, the sepoys at the Bound-hedge stopped their elephants, horses, etc., and brought them in. His friend, the sepoy Vellaikkayyan,[1] who came here, made all preparations, and visited Muhammad 'Alî Khân, has been seized on the Ariyânkuppam road and brought in also.' Immediately M. de La Touche [ ]

Friday, August 7.[2]—This morning 'Alî Khân was brought in a prisoner and put into the Fort dungeon. The Governor sent for him, and asked if he had not tried to desert to Muhammad 'Alî Khân. He replied that Muzaffar Khân had accused him falsely ; but Vellaikkayyan, who was there, was produced to prove the fact ; so he was taken back to the Fort dungeon.

Vellaikkayyan, the sepoy who was forced to confess all while imprisoned at the Choultry yesterday, has been sent to the Nayinâr's house and given food. He stated that another

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[1] Literally, 'white-hand'; perhaps a nickname.

[2] *26th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

sepoy in camp, Shaikh Imâm, had gone with him to Muhammad 'Alî Khân's vakîl.

A letter from Jayarâm Pandit at Arcot says that a son was born to Nâsîr Jang on Monday, while he was away hunting at Timiri, that Irachand Lâlâ, Muzaffar Khân's man, went to Saiyid Sâhib and told him that a letter had been written to Nâsîr Jang offering to serve the Presence with 7,000 sepoys, and promising to come in person to obtain his parwâna, and that Muzaffar Khân was thus playing false, informing Nâsîr Jang that Muhammad 'Alî Khân fought so well on Saturday the 1st that his enemies had fled in fear. I reported this to the Governor.

At two o'clock this afternoon, Hailât Khân, the Pathan mounted messenger, told me that Chandâ Sâhib had heard last night that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's cavalry had fled when our people encamped intending to attack next day, and that our people had taken some booty. On this Chandâ Sâhib presented him with a turban and sent him with Tirumalai Râo to the Governor. As he was reporting the news, M. de La Touche came and sent him away in anger for relating a story which was not found in the letter received this morning.

I was summoned and reported the news. I said it was a sign of what was to happen.

The Governor sent for me at five o'clock to the Fort, and in the presence of M. St. Paul, M. Boyelleau and M. Cornet, told me that 250 marcs' weight of gold lace had come, that five merchants had taken samples of the new kinds of broad cloth, that the price should be fixed to-morrow after it had been examined, and that the merchants might be offered the lace. I said I would tell the merchants accordingly.

The Governor complained that, as M. Cornet was drunk in the afternoon, he forgot what he was told, and remarked to M. St. Paul that M. Dumas used always to be drunk in the afternoon. As I was there, I heard what the Governor said, and then went to the nut-godown.

The Governor received a letter from Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân which is as follows:—'I was plunged in an ocean of sorrow, so I sent a petition to Nâsîr Jang representing the state of my affairs. He read it and wrote thereon that for certain reasons he had deferred granting me a dress of honour and releasing me; but that he was well disposed towards me, and if my mother were sent here, on her arrival, he would pay regard to her, release me and give me the dress of honour. Should you delay in sending her, my release also will be delayed, and you will derive no benefit therefrom. So write that you will send the Begam Sâhib and

I will tell Shâh Nawâz Khân to finish my business and send people to escort her thence.' Thus Muzaffar Jang wrote, repeating his requests, and I reported it to the Governor.

He also wrote to the Begam Sâhib saying that though his business prospered there, it was hindered by her delay in going, and that therefore she should explain matters and go.

Hâji Fâzil had been directed to tell the Governor that Muzaffar Jang was kept in prison only because the Begam Sâhib remained here; otherwise he need not have waited an hour to obtain his release, but could have departed with the Begam Sâhib and secured his safety. Hâji Fâzil was told to reply that he was but a boy and had lost his wits in his imprisonment.

Sunday, August 9.[1]—News came from Tiruviti this morning that Shaikh Hasan with his sepoys and some Europeans had made ready to attack Muhammad 'Alî Khân last night, and that as our people were passing by Tûkkanâmpâkkam at one o'clock this morning, they heard the sound of musketry and guns as though a fight were going forward. I reported this to the Governor.

M. Le Blanc at Covelong wrote saying that the English had tied *tôranams* at Poonamallee on Monday, August 3, and hoisted their

[1] *28th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

flag.[1] On reading this letter, the Governor ordered me to write to Venkata Râo, my amaldâr at Chingleput, and Krishna Pillai, amaldâr of Covelong, not to interfere with the English flag, as it had been hoisted, but to tie *tôranams* in all the districts bordering on Poonamallee. I wrote accordingly.

He then desired me to question four or five sepoys who had been in 'Alî Khân's plot and had been seized and brought in by twenty musketeers, and also two sepoy deserters from Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp. He ordered four to be imprisoned at the Choultry and the fifth in the Fort. I had them imprisoned accordingly, and took to the nut-godown the two sepoy deserters and questioned them about Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp. They said he had 5,000 of Nâsîr Jang's and 4,000 or 5,000 horse of his own, 300 Europeans and 200 topasses—500 hat-men in all—under Mr. Cope, with 1,000 men armed with firelocks. One of them spoke as follows:—'In the battle of Saturday, August 1, 150 or 200 horse and as many men were killed and a similar number wounded.[2] Thereupon 2,000 or 2,500 of Nâsîr

[1] Cf. p. 349 n. *supra*.

[2] According to Orme (*History*, Vol. I, p. 147), the English lost 10 Europeans and 50 sepoys; the Nawâb 200. The action was confined to a cannonade, which did little damage to the French, who were entrenched in a tope. Joseph Smith was wounded here (*Orme MSS.*, *India*, Vol. II, ff. 311–312).

Jang's horse retired to Arcot, and the remaining horses were good for nothing and had to be pulled up by the tail to make them stand. Only a thousand horse and the firelock people are fit for action. Mr. Cope's Europeans only make a show and they cannot face the enemy. Mr. Cope was promised 1,000 pagodas a day[1] if he would help Muhammad 'Alî Khân; and on the fourth day he said he would go because he had not received three days' pay. The accounts were therefore made up to the fourth day and he was paid 5,000 pagodas. As matters stood thus, an order came the day before yesterday from Fort St. David recalling him and his Europeans. When he proposed to go, Muhammad 'Alî Khân went to Mr. Cope's tent, gave him his sword and said, "On the strength of your word, I promised Nâsîr Jang that I should show my valour and return, having expelled the French from Tiruviti fort and other places, and garrisoned them with our troops. How can I now face Nâsîr Jang? Better to fight and perish than to return and tell him of my defeat. Surely that would be more glorious. If you must go, I also will go.

[1] At this time Muhammad 'Ali Khân was paying captains 15 rupees and subalterns 10 rupees a day batta. He also allowed a rupee a day for the men, of which the commanding officer is said to have made considerable advantage (*French Corrce.* 1750, p 32). But in no case would the cost of the English detachment run up to the 1,000 pagodas of the text.

If you are resolved to abandon me, here is my sword, slay me with it and go." Mr. Cope replied, "What can I do? Orders have come from Europe dismissing the old Governor who has lost his appointment and is in prison. Until the newly-appointed Governor arrives from Vizagapatam, Major Lawrence, who is managing affairs, cannot do anything; so I cannot help you in your affairs. Moreover the English and the French Kings are at peace, so we cannot fight with the French. Nevertheless I have done my best for you, and endeavoured to persuade them to do as you wish, proposing that, even if the Europeans were not allowed to fight, they might at least keep the field, so that I could continue to assist you as much as possible. But now there are orders against even that." Hearing all this, Muhammad 'Alî Khân wept and implored him with soft words to protect his honour. Thereupon Mr. Cope and Muhammad 'Alî Khân wrote to Mr. Lawrence at Fort St. David, explaining everything. Their jemadars also are giving trouble. There is no rice and the whole army is starving, so how can they stand against the French? He cannot long remain, for his sepoys and jemadars have been seized with fear, and the whole army is too bewildered to fight. We formerly served Safdar 'Alî Khân, then Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, then the

Râjâ of Tanjore, and then a month ago took service under Muhammad 'Alî Khân; but we could not agree with him and longed to serve Chandâ Sâhib; so we came to your camp, spoke with Shaikh Hasan and M. Law, and with their permission accompanied these sepoys. If we get service here, well and good; if not, we will go where we can get at least rice-water.' He who narrated all this seemed to me an evil man and a liar, far removed from honesty, but God alone knows a man's heart.

I, Madanânda Pandit and Dôst Muhammad were present and reported this news to the Governor. He observed, 'Desire Muzaffar Khân to arrange to take them to Chandâ Sâhib. They are not to be trusted, so tell him to be careful when he speaks with them.' I accordingly told them to go with Dôst Muhammad.

A peon came at one o'clock and said that at three o'clock last night, M. de La Touche, M. Law, Shaikh Hasan and others had attacked the enemy; but as the latter were on the alert and well-armed, they withdrew after firing twice or thrice, for the camp was as bright as day, the enemy firing innumerable guns, rockets and cannon, including five cannon of the English.[1]

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[1] One of the few instances in which a night-attack on an oriental camp failed.

Rangô Pandit writes that our people withdrew as the enemy were on the alert, turning night into day, so that our people could only fire upon them and withdraw. I went and reported this to the Governor at half-past one, and came home for my food at two o'clock.

Monday, August 10.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning soon after his return from Church, and asked the news. I told him I had heard that the *Chinna Dorai*[2] of Madras had gone to Fort St. David, that Mr. Cope had been ordered to remain with Muhammad 'Alî Khân so as to encourage him and settle affairs without attacking the French, and that a reply with compliments had been written to Muhammad 'Alî Khân accordingly.

I also reported the following news:—Jabbhû Sikandar Khân on his march from Chingleput halted near Madurantakam, and then marched far to the westward by way of Wandiwash in order to join Muhammad 'Alî Khân. When Nâsîr Jang camped here before, the entire line of march was destroyed by his troops; a few people afterwards returned, built huts instead of houses, and prepared to plough their lands. But now various places have been again plundered by the troops, many

[1] *29th Âdi, Pramôdûta.*

[2] *i.e.*, Richard Starke, who had been Second at Madras, whence he was called up into the St. David's Council.

women have been carried off, and the rest of the inhabitants have scattered.—'I can believe that,' he replied.

I also reported the following news written by our man at Villupuram as follows:—'I have posted people as far as Gingee and am collecting news. I only see parties of horsemen leaving Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp, but none going thither from Arcot.'

Muzaffar Khân then came and said, 'I hear that 600 horsemen have quitted Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp after receiving their pay. Nâsîr Jang's horsemen—2,000 in number—have also departed. Rice and other provisions for men, and black gram and straw for the horses, are scarce in his camp. His people suffer much, and have to fast for two meals together. The jemadars of horse trouble him day and night for their pay. Muhammad 'Alî Khân's troops cannot remain much longer.' Muzaffar Khân added that this news had been reported by one of the spies sent to Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp.

News then came that a chelinga had brought 100 corge of blue cloth for M. Glainville from Daivanâyaka Chetti and Vîrâ Chetti at Porto Novo. 'What about this?' the Governor asked. I replied that it had been brought according to the promises of Vîrâ Chetti and Kangipâti Vîrâ Chetti to M. Glainville. The

Governor complained that private persons were getting cloth while the Company went without. I explained this was Company's cloth brought in last January and rejected, not cloth newly brought in. 'It is but a short time since you ordered cloth for the Company,' I continued; 'it has to be woven and will come in, provided there are no troubles.' He remained silent and went into his chamber. He presently came into the central hall and inspected the coarse cloth called *droguet* which was lying unrolled, ready to be cut up and made into gowns. I went to the nut-godown.

At half-past eleven M. Soude came and said, 'I cannot pay the 1,600 pagodas interest I owe you. If you will not agree, you may as well shut me up. I can pay 4,600 pagodas of the principal and the balance of 2,000 pagodas in a year's time. If you do not agree to this, you will not get a single cash and I shall be ruined. If a loss arises on the sale of Europe cloth, and the matter is brought to the notice of the creditors and proved, it is not just to compel the debtor to pay the amount. That is the King's order.' I replied, 'When you think thus, how can I expect you to pay my debt? You would not speak so if I were destined to recover the amount. I waited six years until you returned from Europe. You know that I have incurred heavy losses owing to the war

and your conduct. If you wish me neither to pay my creditors nor be called honest, and obstinately refuse to pay me, I can expect nothing from you, and so I shall be unable to pay my debts. You may go. God's purpose is not yours.' M. Soude went away with some compunction, saying that he would come again and see me to-morrow. I came home and took my food.

SEPTEMBER 1750.

Wednesday, September 2.[1]—At five this morning, I read a letter from Vaithilinga Mudali, havildar of Villupuram saying:—'At four o'clock yesterday our army attacked Muhammad 'Alî Khân encamped at Kumaramangalam, and by sunset pressed the enemy so hard that they abandoned their camp, leaving all behind, and setting fire to their tents and their goods. I hear from harkaras that the sepoys and the Europeans got much booty. Some 20 cannon, 1,000 matchlocks and 2,000 muskets have been taken as well as different kinds of copper vessels, women's cloths, etc., in great quantities.' The peons said that the tents had been set on fire and that they had seen the blaze as far as Olukarai custom-house.

I washed my face, took some cold rice, and went out at half-past six. As no news had then come from Tiruviti, I began to suspect the truth of what I had heard and went to the Governor's. I was told that he was asleep, all the doors were shut, and no one could go in to

[1] *21st Âvani, Pramôdûta.*

[2] Cf. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (ed. Aimé-Martin). Vol. II, pp. 740, etc.

tell him the news. I told Tyâgu to report to the Governor what I had heard as soon as he woke up, went to the nut-godown, and sat down.

About seven o'clock four peons came with a letter from the havildar of Tiruviti, with the same news as that sent by the havildar of Villupuram. The peons said, 'We witnessed the battle. Our people took great plunder. One of the 23 cannon was very large. All the tents were set on fire and burnt till day-break. An officer and 6 or 7 sepoys were killed. Some straw was set on fire by a falling spark and a peon and a European were burnt to death. A plank broke under one of us and hurt his leg. We do not know whither Muhammad 'Alî Khân has fled with his sepoys and horsemen.' Having heard this, I went to the Governor at eight o'clock and reported it. His joy was boundless. At once he went into Madame's room and told her.

He then came back and said sneeringly, 'The English officer for all his promises has abandoned them as soon as he made a little money. The Muhammadans will never trust the English again. Nâsîr Jang would not have come here but for their promises of help; and when a man like him has been driven away, how can Muhammad 'Alî Khân attack us? He won't dare to stir a foot. Their offers

of help turned his head and brought him hither; but now as soon as they have got some money out of him, they dishonestly abandon him, like a guide deserting a blind man in mid-stream. Muhammad 'Alî Khân must either have perished or at the least lost all he had. To-day will end their talk of war; but without my fortitude of mind, matters would not have ended so.' I replied, 'How can it be otherwise when you are destined to great glory? Tiruviti is but a small weak place. Nâsîr Jang came against it with 10,000 horse, 20,000 foot, 30 or 40 cannon, 2,000 matchlocks, 5,000 or 6,000 fire locks and other engines of war and moreover was joined by the English forces; but he retired without even setting eyes on the place. What could more dishonour him or glorify you? Forty days hence men will speak of this in Delhi. The Pâdshâh himself is less fortunate than you.' Thus I praised him without departing from the truth.

He then asked if Chandâ Sâhib was rejoiced at this news. I replied, 'All joy is his. Day and night he remembers your efforts for him with praise, and is ever asking how he can possibly repay your kindness.'—'Will he come now?' he asked. I said he would.

Mîr A'azam then came to congratulate the Governor and said that the Nawâb Sâhib would come shortly.

Then the Nawâb Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib came. Both went in and enquired after his health. After an exchange of compliments, Chandâ Sâhib said, 'It is not only Muhammad 'Alî Khân who has been conquered and driven out, but Nâsîr Jang also has been defeated and all the Deccan subdued. Pondichery has become as Delhi, and the whole country is now dependent on it. Your glory shines like the sun, and none is so fortunate as you. You have defeated even Nâsîr Jang, whom the Pâdshâh himself could hardly overthrow.' To these praises the Governor replied with compliments.

'What will become of Muhammad 'Alî Khân?' he asked. They replied that he would fly to Trichinopoly. 'But,' he asked, 'will Nâsîr Jang's own horsemen follow him thither?'—'I do not know,' Chandâ Sâhib replied; 'the jemadars scattered after their defeat. Never was so great a victory. It should be announced by salutes.' The Governor observed, 'We have heard nothing from the Europeans and have no news but Rangappan's. We will not fire salutes until we hear from the Europeans. I will fire salutes when their letters come; and this afternoon, I will go to Church and hear mass, and to-night there shall be music and dancing. Nâsîr Jang will certainly depart on hearing of this; and the

Pâdshâh and Mansûr 'Alî Khân, the vizier, will also rejoice at it.' After this Chandâ Sâhib was given rose-water and *pân supârî.* He declared that the news would finish Nâsîr Jang's affair and bestow the Deccan on Muzaffar Jang. After taking leave of the Governor, Chandâ Sâhib visited Madame, and then departed with his son and Mîr A'azam.

S'aadat-ud-dîn Khân, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's son, Hâji Fâzil and Hâris Bêg also came to congratulate the Governor. Europeans and others did the same.

When the Europeans' letters came at eleven o'clock, salutes of 21 guns were fired from the Fort and from the ships. The Governor summoned the various Europeans to attend mass at half-past four.

The town has now learnt the news (which will reach Arcot this evening) that Muhammad 'Alî Khân, son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, was defeated and put to flight at six o'clock last night; and the rejoicings which are to be observed have been announced. The Governor's joy is boundless. He asked Chandâ Sâhib to distribute sugar; and he accordingly passed along the several streets with music, distributing sugar.

At five o'clock this evening all went to the Fort and heard mass. Salutes of 21 guns were fired at the Fort and from the ships as it began

and ended. This was followed by a ball at the Governor's house which lasted till eleven o'clock at night.

The Governor said that M. Sornay, the Engineer's son, who came from Europe on board the *Achille* and was sent to Tiruviti as an officer, had struck a buffalo with a loaded musket and had been killed by the charge exploding[1].

I reported that Muhammad 'Alî Khân who fled yesterday with 2,000 horse had passed by Tiruvennanallûr; that Mr. Cope's 2,000 fire-lock people had retired to Fort St. David as soon as Muhammad 'Alî Khân fled, and that our people had taken 21 cannon and 2 mortars. A letter that has since arrived says that 9 more cannon, 2,000 Râchûr rockets and 2 bullock-loads of shot had also been taken. 30 cannon, large and small, 2,000 Râchûr rockets, 400 and odd match-locks and 2 bullock-loads of shot have altogether been taken in Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp. We shall see what more will be taken.

Thursday, September 3.[2]—The Governor only woke up after nine o'clock this morning. He

[1] Cf.. Dupleix to the Company, October 3, 1750 (*Arch des Col.*):—'Une trop grande vivacité de sa part accompagnée de beaucoup d imprudence luy a été bien funeste, son fusil ayant parti dans le moment qu'il en vouloit donner un coup de crosse à un cheval, . et il a été tué roide.'

[2] *22nd Âvani, Pramôdûta.*

then sent for me and asked if I had heard anything about Muhammad 'Alî Khân's retreat. I said I had heard nothing reliable and that I would inform him as soon as I did. He then asked if I had heard nothing of the line of his retreat. I replied that the havildar of Villupuram had written saying that according to travellers' reports he had marched by way of Tiruvennanallûr with about 2,000 horse. 'As the horse have scattered in all directions,' I said, 'none can say whither each has gone, and the only news is uncertain rumour.' He asked how much booty had been taken by our people. I replied, 'There were 10,000 horse, and 20,000 foot with bazaars and merchants. But as all fled hurriedly, they must have left everything behind, and the booty must have been great.' He agreed.

Just then several Europeans came, so I went out and sat down.

The Governor afterwards came out and said, 'The troubles are over, so you can turn your mind to trade[1]: tell the merchants, washermen, etc., to make haste and supply goods quickly. You must pay special attention to this matter.' I said I would certainly do so. He went away warning me to be careful about it.

[1] This remark is a good illustration of the sanguine quality of Dup'eix' mind.

Gôpâlaswâmi used to say that according to my horoscope, the period of Venus and the sub-period of Mercury, which ended yesterday, would be a time of troubles, but that the period of Venus and sub-period of *Cauda draconis*, which began to-day, would be free from troubles, with flourishing trade and great profit. Moreover Sîtârâma Ayyar, the Vaippûr astrologer, predicted that from my forty-first year, I should enjoy great wealth and exercise authority over twelve kingdoms. We shall see what befalls.

At three o'clock this afternoon, the Governor sent for me and said, 'Go to the washing place, the stamping place, and the Company's cloth-godown, and tell the merchants they can carry on their trade freely from to-day. Till now it has been difficult to bring in goods or take them out ; but they need fear nothing now. Tell the merchants they can send money to distant places for cloth. Hasten them and collect many washers.' So I went to the washing place, and he came with me. Having inspected it, we were about to go back to the Fort when the European in charge of the slaves complained that he had only four peons and no writers. The Governor asked me how many writers were supposed to be under him. I said that there were four and a manager besides the peons. The Governor then departed

to the Fort, saying that, as the expenses had to be borne by the Company, the place should be walled round and have only one doorway, so that one writer would be sufficient. I waited there about an hour, told the washers to collect people, and then went to the nut-godown.

In the evening he asked if any news had come. I said I had heard that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had gone to Tirukkôyilûr. He then told me to get cloth in, and in future to attend to trade instead of war. I agreed and came away.

As it was Ramzan to-day, I offered my congratulations to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's mother and Chandâ Sâhib, with a nazar of five pagodas each and then came home.

Friday, September 4.[1]—This morning the Governor sent for me and asked the news from Tiruviti and elsewhere. I replied that I had letters from Tiruviti and Villupuram, saying that he[2] was encamped on the bank of the Tirukkôyilûr tank, that he had received a slight bullet wound in the leg, and that Husain Sâhib's full brother, Badê Sâhib, had also been wounded.

Presently he sent for me and told me to send at once to Tiruviti all the cattle, coolies, elephants, camels, etc., in the town. I agreed. He

[1] *23rd Âvani, Pramôdûta.* [2] *Sc.* Muhammad 'Alî Khân.

gave the same order to Parasurâma Pillai who said he would do so and departed. This is for the purpose of bringing in the large booty taken.

The Governor said, 'I ordered our troops at Tiruviti to march towards Arcot. Make me a list, showing the names of the halting-places on the road to Arcot by way of Gingee with their distances from each other.' I wrote one out accordingly. He then asked for a similar list for the road to Arcot by Wandiwash. I wrote this also, and he sent them with a letter to M. d'Auteuil.

At three o'clock this afternoon, he sent for me and asked if the elephants, camels, coolies, etc., had set out for Tiruviti. I said that they had been sent.

He then asked if any cloth would be ready for sorting to-morrow. I said that the washed cloth was ready. He drove out at four and I went to the nut-godown.

At six o'clock he sent for me again and said, 'Many bullocks have been seized in camp. Let the men on the road be warned not to let a single bullock to escape.' I sent word accordingly to the Company's people and the Nayinâr's peons on the road. He came back and told me to send men to Tiruviti to buy up all the bullocks, in the name of Pariah people, not as if they were for the Company. I therefore wrote to the havildar of Tiruviti.

In the evening at seven he sent for me again. He was on the wide southern verandah with M. Desfresnes and two or three other Europeans. He said angrily, 'I hear that there are great heaps of chunam at Âlankuppam but no bullocks to bring it in. Have not our bullocks returned that were sent with provisions to camp?' I replied that they had not. He continued, 'When our people came back from Tanjore, they brought a lakh of cattle; but not one is to be found now. A thousand bullocks have just been taken in the field but they are being sold at Cuddalore.' M. Desfresnes turned to me and asked if men could not be sent there to buy them. I said nothing.

The Governor then asked whether many laden coolies had not come in from Cuddalore. I replied that they had brought things from Cuddalore for the retail bazaars.

Then the Engineer came and said, 'I hear from Âlankuppam that there is a great stock of chunam with plenty of carts, but no gunnies. Please order them to be supplied.' The Governor asked how many carts there were. He said eight.

The Governor then asked me if any cloth could be sorted to-morrow. I said I had heard that some would be ready. He then dismissed me and I went to the nut-godown.

Saturday, September 5.[1]—As the Company's cloth was to be examined at the Fort this morning, I went there and waited at the sorting godown. The Governor's peon called me; so I took leave of the Second and then went to the Governor's. He asked the news from Arcot.

Our vakîl's letter says :—'On the night of Tuesday, the 22nd of the last month,[2] Nâsîr Jâng held his darbâr in the Rangini Mahal.[3] When the business was over, Shâh Nawâz Khân and Morô Pandit went to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and said that Nâsîr Jang had promised to give him Arcot and a dress of honour. The talk here is that Nâsîr Jang will bestow a dress of honour on Muzaffar Jang, leave Shâh Nawâz Khân here, and himself march to Aurangabad. Shâh Nawâz Khân is in charge of affairs here. Razzâq 'Alî Sâhib who was killedar of Gingee in the time of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has been made darogah of the mints in Chicacole and Rajahmundry, given a dress of honour and ordered to proceed thither. The Jemadar of Îndugadai has desired Shâh Nawâz Khân to permit him to depart, but was told that he might go with the Nawâb Sâhib

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[1] *24th Âvani, Pramôdûta.*

[2] This may be a slip for Monday, the 22nd Adi, or it may refer to the 22nd Ramzan (August 25).

[3] I am informed that this building, of which no traces now remain, was situated a short way south of the present city of Arcot, and was the usual place at which darbârs were held on festivals.

when he marched. The Jemadar agreed and departed.'

When I had reported all this news, the Governor observed, ' 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân of Cuddapah and Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân of Kandanûr formerly promised that, if our troops marched towards Arcot and engaged Muhammad 'Alî Khân, they would take advantage of it to overthrow Nâsîr Jang and establish Muzaffar Jang in the Deccan subahs. Now that we have put Muhammad 'Alî Khân to flight, the Cuddapah and Kandanûr people have a good chance of seizing Nâsîr Jang according to their promise. As they declared that, if only our troops marched towards Arcot, they would take advantage of it to capture Nâsîr Jang, we ordered our troops at Tiruviti to march that way. They accordingly have reached Villupuram, and the rest will be there to-morrow or perhaps the day after.' I replied that as he enjoyed the full favour of God, matters would fall out as he hoped.

Mîr A'azam then came and told the Governor that the Nawâb Sâhib had ordered him to ask for 100 Mahó sepoys and 100 troopers to escort his wife from Wandiwash. The Governor wrote therefore to M. d'Auteuil, desiring him to detach that number from the troops at Villupuram and said that, if people were sent to Tiruviti, M. d'Auteuil would send

the number required. Mîr A'azam took the letter, and as he was leaving, the Governor said, I hear that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's artillery has arrived from Tiruviti. They were sent to Muhammad 'Alî Khân by Nâsîr Jang, so go and see them.' He agreed and departed, after reporting Muhammad 'Alî Khân's arrival at Tirukkôyilûr and his being wounded in the leg.

M. Pilavoine then brought a list showing the dues outstanding on the country arrack farm in the Fort books. Seeing that 6,000 and odd rupees were outstanding against the liquor godown, the Governor asked me why I had allowed such a large sum to fall in arrears. I replied, 'I do not think so much is due. During the troubles with the English, we were forbidden to sell liquor by retail for seven or eight months, so the arrears cannot much exceed 100 pagodas or so.' He then asked if the account had been made up to last June. M. Pilavoine replied that they had only been brought up to the previous June. The Governor observed, 'Then, bring them up to last June,' and asked me how much was owing to the Company for coral. I replied, 'Need that be mentioned? You know what losses I have suffered, though neither by extravagance nor by any other fault. Moreover there has been no trade by sea for the last six years owing to the English troubles and you know that in

consequence I have been unable to get in my distant ventures, and so have run into debt. You should relieve me of this burden, and make me happy.' He did not answer, but spoke to M. Pilavoine about other accounts; so I came out. After M. Pilavoine had gone, the Governor asked if I had paid for all the goods I had bought. I replied, 'Besides the goods I have already supplied, there are also the chintz you ordered, the lampasses, and the Mascareigne goods, which will be brought to account next month.' He asked if my whole balance would be cleared off. I replied, 'The goods are ready; the chintz is being dyed at Sadras; and the other goods are already in the godown. If necessary, they can be baled to-morrow.' He listened to this, and then went into his chamber, and I went to the nut-godown.

At six o'clock this evening, the Governor sent for M. Cornet, who came as I was reporting the Arcot news in the Governor's garden. Immediately the Governor said to him, 'Look into the accounts, and tell me how much was advanced to Ranga Pillai this year on Bâpu Chetti's account for blue-cloth, chintz and lampasses, and what goods have been supplied against this advance.' M. Cornet said that all the cloth had been entered in my name. The Governor answered, 'Never mind, make the necessary entries.' He agreed and went away,

asking me to come to him to the Fort to-morrow morning after mass although it would be Sunday. The Governor then went into the hall and I went to the nut-godown with M. Cornet.

I went to the Governor at eight o'clock and informed him of the spies' report that Muhammad 'Alî Khân was still encamped by the Tirukkôyilûr tank.

Sunday, September 6.[1]—Soon after his return from mass this morning, the Governor sent for me [and said], 'We gave a cowle, as the jemadars, etc., in the Vriddhachalam fort desired, on condition of their giving up the fort. They have now sent word that if we send 200 sepoys and 40 horsemen they will surrender the fort, under the pretext of being overpowered. So 200 sepoys and 40 horsemen have been sent there.' I observed that Vriddhachalam was 7½ or 8 European leagues from Tiruviti. He then asked how far Venkatâmpêttai was from Tiruviti. I said, 4 leagues.

The Company's ship, the *Anson*[2], which was to have sailed to Mocha and the Malabar coast has been despatched to Bengal with orders to touch at Bunder. 150 sepoys and 50 Europeans have been sent on her. I told the

[1] *25th Âvani, Pramôdûta.*

[2] Probably the English vessel of that name captured by French privateers off the Bombay coast in 1747. See Vol. IV, p. 176, n. 2 *supra*. Her name is spelt *Hanson* in the *Corrce. de Pondichéry avec Bengale*, Vol. III, p. 119.

Governor's chobdars who reported this to me that they could go.

At eleven I reported the contents of a letter from Tiruviti as follows:—'Shaikh Hasan, M. Bury[1] and others have marched proposing to take the Wandiwash road to Arcot, as those did who marched before. The very horses of the Muhammadans will not drink if any one but names the French. If dumb brutes without reason do this, what must it be with men? You may judge for yourself.' When I reported this, he observed that it was true.

He then ordered me to tell the Company's merchants to hasten their supply of goods. I said, 'Since Muhammad 'Alî retired six days ago, the merchants have been sending money to distant places to buy the cloth that may be ready there.'—'That's right,' he said.

I then said, 'Mr. Prince at Madras has troubled every one; the merchants are leaving and going elsewhere; and Constantine, the Siam ship's captain[2], and others from Tenasserim, Siam, etc., have been so ill-treated that

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[1] I suspect not Bury, but Bussy is really meant.

[2] The Madras Diary gives the following entry:—'April 10, 1750, arrived ship Nanganatt, Don Constantine Falcon, from Tenassery.' She sailed for Tenasserim on September 11. Here is seemingly an echo of the old tragedy of Constantine Phalkon sixty years earlier. Phalkon left a son who was four years old at his father's death in 1689. The 'Don Constantine' mentioned above was perhaps grandson of the great adventurer. See Anderson's *English in Siam*, p. 371; Hamilton's *New Account*, Vol. II, p. 176; and Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, Vol. I, p. 33 (ed. Glasgow).

it is said that no ships will put in there.' When I had reported these and other matters, he remarked that he had heard the same. I then took leave and went to the nut-godown.

At six o'clock this evening a cadjan letter came from our vakîl at Arcot, saying:—'Nâsîr Jang went out on an elephant in his howdah to the Îdgâh[1] in great pomp and rich apparel after bathing, to hear the Khutba. His younger brother accompanied him together with the subahdars of Cuddapah, Kandanûr, etc., Shâh Nawâz Khân, Morô Pandit, Râmadâs Pandit, with their *mutasaddis* and dîwâns, etc., on their various steeds, attended by the naubat and other music, and the standards of his rank. Thus jemadars, troopers, etc., all marched to hear the Khutba read, and on their return flowers of gold were scattered on all sides. As Nâsîr Jang was passing through the bazaars on his return, Mîr Asad's elephant [? jostled] Nâsîr Jang's [

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Tuesday, September 8.[2]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he was about to go to church. He asked the news from Arcot. I said there was none. He then asked if Muhammad 'Alî Khân had reached Tiruvannâmalai from Tirukkôyilûr. I replied that he

[1] See *Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Eed-gah.*
[2] *27th Âvani, Pramôdûta.*

had, but that his jemadars and sepoys were troubling him for their pay.

He then asked what had become of the horsemen at Gingee. I replied that when they heard our troops had reached Villupuram, some had gone to Arcot and others to Tiruvannâmalai.

He complained angrily that no news had come from Arcot since the day before yesterday, and then went to church. I went to the nut-godown.

I returned as soon as he came back from church. He ordered me to go to the washing-place and hasten the cloth being got ready. I therefore went and informed the washers and their head-people, returned to the nut-godown and then came home to my food.

At six o'clock this evening the Governor sent for me and asked if any news had come. I replied, 'No.'

He said angrily, 'As I was driving, Chandâ Sâhib's son and five or six horsemen who had gone to see the image being carried in procession[1], turned their backs on me. Should they behave so disrespectfully?' Though prolonged thought might have failed to find a suitable answer, one occurred on the spur of the moment, and I said, 'Among

[1] It was the feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

Muhammadans, when one meets his father or master or one older than himself, it is not proper to meet him face to face but to stand aside. This is also the practice of the Tamils. As Razâ Sâhib regards you as his father, he stood aside. That is all.'—'In that case, it is all right,' he said, and went in.[1]

We also came out, but Dôst Muhammad said to Madanânda Pandit that it was lucky I had replied so as to satisfy the Governor, thus avoiding a quarrel between him and Razâ Sâhib. The other observed that it was by Chandâ Sâhib's good fortune that I had replied thus. Thus talking, we came to the pandal at the nut-godown.

Madanânda Pandit and Dôst Muhammad told Mîr A'azam what had been said about Razâ Sâhib by the Governor with my answer. Mîr A'azam replied with compliments that, as matters stood, Chandâ Sâhib's good fortune had taken my form to end the matter. He then said that Chandâ Sâhib had told him to ask the Governor for 2 garse of paddy and 3 garse of wheat. I dismissed him, saying that the time was not suitable and that I would speak about it to-morrow. He departed saying that he would tell Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib what had taken place.

[1] The true explanation probably is that they did not wish to be recognized at a Christian procession; but intentional disrespect is extremely unlikely.

Wednesday, September 9.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning the Governor sent for me and asked if any news had come from Arcot. I said, 'Yes.' He [asked] what it was. I replied, 'When the Khutba had been read, he[2] held a darbâr, received nazars, and gave cowles. After receiving the nazars, he withdrew, having ordered enquiry to be made into Muhammad 'Alî Khân's affair. Shâh Nawâz Khân summoned harkaras and gave them orders. A darbâr was held the next day; and Murtazâ 'Alî Khân was told to attack Pondichery. Mîr Asad was rebuked for having said that if the subah were given to Muhammad 'Alî Khân with 10,000 horse, 2,000 match-locks and 5,000 Râchûr rockets, he would be able to meet the enemy in the field and pay a crore of rupees, whereas after all, Muhammad 'Alî Khân had been driven out, to the disgrace of those who had sent him. Mîr Asad was angrily told that he had to march with Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and wash out this blackness, else he should hear of it and be obliged to pay the balance of 90 lakhs out of the promised crore. They therefore departed to their houses, thinking that they had better fly if Nâsîr Jang meant what he had said. Shâh Nawâz Khân spoke angrily to him and departed accusing him of

[1] *28th Âvani, Pramôdûta.*

[2] *Sc.* Nâsîr Jang.

being in secret correspondence with the Pondichery people. Mîr Asad solemnly declared that he was no traitor and added, 'Did I not tell you Muhammad 'Alî Khân would bring dishonour on those who sent him? But the rest supported him for their own interests and you believed them. I advised you according to my duty and said no more, leaving the decision to you.' Thereon the other said in anger that he himself would have gone to fight but for the Huzûr's orders to return at once to Aurangabad, according to the request of the Nânâ, Bhâji Râo's son, so that the camp equipage had been ordered northwards and he himself would set out on the 15th of Shawwâl.[1]

He then asked the news about Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I replied, 'I hear that he is still at Tiruvannâmalai where his jemadars and sepoys are troubling him for their pay, that Nâsîr Jang has recalled him and that the messengers are pressing him to start.'

He then took his coffee and asked what goods I had supplied and how much was still due for the advance of last year. I replied, 'I took an advance of 40,000 pagodas, for which I have supplied 28,000 pagodas' worth of goods. My balance is 12,000 pagodas, against which

[1] *i.e.*, September 17.

have to be set chintz for 6,000 pagodas and chintz, lungis, etc., for Mascareigne, lampasses, blue-cloth with charges, etc., for 1,000 pagodas. This cloth is ready to be baled.' He then asked me for my account. I produced and read it to him. He noted it down and said, 'Clear off the balance soon. What goods can you bring by January?' I replied that I could supply 50,000 pagodas' worth. 'That is not enough,' he said, 'get goods for a lakh of pagodas.' I told him that I could try. 'You can get them if you like,' he said, and went into his chamber. I went away quickly to the nut-godown, reflecting that if I bought goods now, I should lose 10 pagodas *per cent* on the exchange.[1]

At six o'clock this evening Mîr A'azam came with a message saying that Chandâ Sâhib's wife had arrived and desired a gate pass. I took him to the Governor and got a pass for the Valudâvûr gate signed by the Governor. He then asked about the paddy and wheat. The Governor dismissed him saying that he would send 5 garse of wheat and a garse of paddy.

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[1] The official rate of exchange at Pondichery was still 320 rupees *per* 100 pagodas. The current rate was about 360. Apparently Ranga Pillai would have to pay for the cloth either in gold, or in rupees at the market rate, while he would only be paid in rupees at the official exchange for the cloth he supplied.

At half-past nine a man came from Chandâ Sâhib saying that Mîr A'azam Sâhib had lost the gate pass and that Chandâ Sâhib's wife was therefore still waiting at the gate. I told him that the Governor would be going to bed and that he should go and ask the Topass, Tyâgu, who would tell the Governor. He went in accordingly. Tyâgu went to the Governor and got another gate pass; but before the man arrived with it, the Valudâvûr gate people had gone to the Madras gate; and when the pass was presented there, the commander refused to open the gate as the pass was for the Valudâvûr gate, and sent a corporal to ask the Governor. The corporal went accordingly. The Governor gave permission to admit her; but before this permission had arrived, she had gone to the choultry by the washing place where she stayed. Thus she moved hither and thither without getting admission and after all slept at the choultry.

At eleven o'clock to-night, the Governor sent for me and said he had news from M. d'Auteuil that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had fled to Trichinopoly. He told me to go to Chandâ Sâhib at once and ask him to write to the killedar of Trichinopoly as follows :— 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân has lost everything, has been wounded and is flying to your place. Do not admit him into the Fort. If you fire a

few guns and prevent him from approaching the Fort, I will give you a jaghir worth a lakh of rupees with a killa to be enjoyed by you and your son.'

He told me to write similarly as if from himself and inquired if I knew the killedar's name. I replied that neither I nor Chandâ Sâhib knew it.[1] 'What is to be done then?' he asked. I suggested that the man might be addressed simply as the killedar of Trichinopoly. 'Very well,' he said. So I went to Chandâ Sâhib's house with Madanânda Pandit, asked him to write the letter, and despatched both to Trichinopoly by two peons. Then at two o'clock we went home.

Thursday, September 10.[2]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked if Chandâ Sâhib had written to the killedar of Trichinopoly according to his orders of last night. I replied that he had and that I had despatched it with my own letter by two of his peons.

He then asked the news about Muhammad 'Alî Khân. I hear that Nâsîr Jang wrote to Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Tiruvannâmalai not to retire to Arcot but to halt at Gingee, whither he would send reinforcements. Muhammad 'Alî Khân replied that the enemy was

[1] Khair-ud-dîn Khân, Muhammad 'Alî's brother in-law, was killedar at a somewhat later date, and may have been so now.

[2] *29th Âvani, Pramôdûta.*

pursuing; that he lacked provisions, so it was useless halting at Gingee; but that he would obey his orders. When I reported this, the Governor said that Muhammad 'Alî Khân would never go near our army or go to Arcot, for even when he had a large army and provisions, he had been alarmed and defeated; so that he would certainly go to Trichinopoly.

He then told me to arrange at once to pack the cloth that was ready. There is nothing else worth writing. As usual he sent for me in the evening to ask the news.

Friday, September 11.[1]—At half-past six this morning the Governor's peon came for me. When I went, he told me that M. Bussy and Shaikh Hasan had reached Muttattûr and that they would reach Gingee to-day. I said I had heard that M. d'Auteuil, M. Law and Muzaffar Khân were only three or four hours' journey behind them, would reach Gingee a day later, and were at Tumbaiyûr. He said he had heard that they had marched on and reached Nemûr.

He then asked where Muhammad 'Alî Khân was. I replied that he was encamped at a place called Pattepôttai, north of Gingee, and on the other side of the river. He observed, 'How can a man who has abandoned all

[1] *30th Âvani, Pramôdûta.*

his stores now advance? He could not do so. Your man has misinformed you.' I replied soothingly, that I only reported what was written, and that all would be learnt from the next news.

The Governor then said, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân tried to reach Arcot by way of Kalasapâkkam and Pôlûr but has abandoned that route and is trying to move east to Gingee.' I replied that he would no longer seek to go to Arcot but march to Gingee according to Nâsîr Jang's letter to meet the promised reinforcements. He replied as if disbelieving what I said.

He then asked the news from Arcot. I replied, 'Nâsîr Jang who boastfully recalled all the troops he had sent away, declaring that he would march in person against the enemy, has again ordered the artillery and troops to return without delay. When 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân, Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân and others were told to start, they [replied] that Muhammad 'Alî Khân had gone with 10,000 horsemen [ ].'

Monday, September 28.[1]—This is the news from Cuddalore to-day:—Mr. Saunders who has come from Bengal[2] as the Governor of

[1] *16th Purattâsi, Pramôdûta.* The date seems an error for the 29th. Saunders reached St. David's on September 18 O.S.

[2] Not from Bengal, but from Vizagapatam. Other details of the St. David's news are very inaccurate.

Fort St. David, passed the Pondichery roads at eleven o'clock this morning, and soon after got into a chelinga, and an hour later reached the Fort St. David roads. It was then four o'clock. The Major went down to meet him, delivered up the keys, and led him up with great ceremony. As soon as they reached the Fort, they went upstairs, took some light refreshment, and drove out at five o'clock with all pomp. The Major and the Governor got into the same carriage, and Mr. Floyer and Mr. Morse into another. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 29th [*sic*] the Governor's own ship arrived with goods and silver; between ten and eleven, the new Governor, the Major, Mr. Cope and two other Europeans met upstairs in council without admitting the dubâsh, or any other Tamils. After their discussion they despatched the Bengal ship. That evening the Governor sat in council and read many papers. At eleven on the 30th, he summoned all the Europeans and read his commission as Governor. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired. It is said that the Major is going to Europe[1], and that Mr. Cope will succeed him. Mr. Floyer and Mr. Morse are also going to Europe. Mr. Cope is a favourite

[1] Lawrence went home because the Company, after sanctioning an unauthorized increase made by Floyer, etc., to his pay, withdrew their sanction.

with the Governor and is always going to him.

The camp news is that the flag has been hoisted this side of Arni. Their vakîl arrived in a palankin with ten horses but has not yet had any interview. The new Governor has not yet written to camp, but the merchants have been ordered to supply cloth quickly.

OCTOBER 1750.

Thursday, October 8.[1]—The following news has come in a cadjan letter from Fort St. David of October 7:—'All is well up to to-day. The new Governor is strict, and is always upstairs. Any one who wishes to see him has to pass first the sentinel; secondly, the guard; thirdly, the head-peon, and fourthly, his private dubâsh. This last reports who is waiting; and people are only admitted with the Governor's permission; otherwise they must stay where they are. Even councillors have to do the same. The new Governor sent for Mr. Cope the night before last, and asked indignantly why he had favoured the French at the expense of the Muhammadans, when he had promised to help the latter. Mr. Cope replied that it was not his fault, as he had only obeyed the Major's orders. When he had explained his conduct, the Governor was satisfied and his anger abated. I hear that Mr. Floyer was at the bottom of all this. Mr. Cope is not under arrest, but Mr. Morse is kept under surveillance, and the Major is continually being summoned to the Fort. A ship will sail for Europe in three or four days

[1] 26th Purattâsi, Pramôdûta.

with 1,300 bales. The Commodore's ship lay three or four days in the roads and then sailed for Madras and Bengal.[1] A Quedah ship sailed on the 6th with about 100 bales. 35 bales of coarse blue cloth and 25 bales of bleached cloth, 60 bales in all, were supplied by Tennavarâya Pillai for that place. I hear that money has not yet been received for the bills of exchange that were sent but more bales will be supplied as soon as it is paid. One day the Governor grew angry with the merchants complaining that they owed 1,50,000 pagodas and declaring that their accounts must be examined, their balances settled, and cloth brought in without delay. Pandâra Mudali owes the Company 55 pagodas, Nallatambi Chetti 47, Irusappa Chetti 37 and Tennavarâya Mudali 25.[2] However Pandâra Mudali has on hand unbleached cloth worth 27 pagodas, Nallatambi Chetti 15 or 16, Irusappa Chetti 22 and Tennavarâya Mudali 15. This can be set against their balances, but the remainder has still to be collected. The new Governor is very strict. He has not yet written to camp,

[1] The Commodore was Lisle, whom Boscawen had left behind with the *Vigilant* and *Ruby* to cruise after pirates. He reached St. David's after a cruise to the Eastward on September 22/October 3, and proceeded three days later to Madras, where he found orders from the Admiralty to return home.

[2] These figures evidently should be understood as thousands of pagodas. Possibly Ranga Pillai had in mind bags of 1,000 pagodas. Cf. Love, *Vestiges*, Vol. II, p. 311.

but is said to have received a letter from Muhammad 'Alî Khân containing little but a demand for the shot and powder for which he had advanced money, a promise soon to visit the Governor, and complaints of Mr. Cope's behaviour. No reply has yet been sent and it is not known how he will answer. There is much paddy in store, and more is being brought by four of the Governor's ships ; so it sells here cheap at 8 vallams a pagoda.[1] Bullock-loads are also coming from the south. It is very difficult to get news as the Garuda[2] and the Pennâr rivers are half-full.'

I reported to the Governor this morning the foregoing Cuddalore news. He asked how the Company's business could be carried on if Mr. Saunders would not see his visitors. I said I did not know what he might do in future, but that he had done so till now.

He then said that M. d'Auteuil had written that Nâsîr Jang's forces had reached Dêsûr, that therefore he had moved from Chêtpattu to Pattepêttai, that he might advance to Gingee and that the Nawâbs of Cuddapah, Kandanûr, Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram, Sânôji Nimbâlakar, Râjâ Chandrasônan's son

[1] Cf. Vol. V, p. 363, *supra*. If, as I suppose, Ranga Pillai refers to the Madras markâl which had been established at St. David's in 1748 the price was 50 pagodas the garse, about the average of the period.

[2] Another name for the Gadilam. See *South Arcot Gazetteer*, Vol I, p. 10.

Râmachandra Râo and others, the mansabdars and subahdars who had promised to seize or kill Nâsîr Jang, had done this only to deceive us. The Governor said that he had replied to M. d'Auteuil explaining everything.

The ship that has arrived from Europe by way of Mascareigne anchored in the roads and fired a salute; so the Governor went to see her. He returned afterwards, took his coffee and talked with M. de Kerjean. I went to the nut-godown. The ship is called the *Hercule*,[1] and her captain M. Johannis. She has brought 50 chests of silver, but I do not know what else.

A sloop belonging to M. Courtin[2] has arrived from Bengal with rice.

At six o'clock this evening I went and reported the contents of the letter from Subbayyan, vakîl with the Râjâ of Tanjore, as follows:—'By means of Nârô Pandit, I visited the Râjâ and demanded the balance remaining unpaid out of the 70 lakhs of rupees promised to Chandâ Sâhib. He replied that the Cauvery anicut had been breached, so that water had been lacking for irrigation, the crops had been small and money scarce; that moreover he

[1] She is not mentioned in the list of *envois* contained in the Company's memoir against Dupleix; but is referred to in Dupleix' letter to the Company of October 3, 1750.

[2] Jacques-Ignace Courtin; Ensign 1740; Sous-lieutenant 1741; became a Civil Servant in 1744; Councillor 1752; chiefly employed in Bengal, where he was well-known to and friendly with the English.

had sent away Nâsîr Jang's people for the same reason; that Nâsîr Jang would be angry if money were paid while he was in the province; but that he would pay, when the Arcot appointment had been filled after Mahânavami,[1] and then dismiss me with joy. Moreover the Râjâ proposes to bestow upon the Governor a dress of honour and presents with a complimentary letter regarding his victory over Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the capture of Gingee. Manôji Appâ is to be released and appointed Paymaster of the troops. Pâvâdai Nâyakkan is being required to pay three lakhs of *pons*.[2] Let a letter be sent to the Râjâ.'

When I reported this, he asked if Subbayyan was still at Tanjore. I said that he could not leave without orders. He agreed, and added that M. Le Riche had written from Kârikâl that Subbayyan had left Kârikâl for Pondichery. Then he went into his room with M. St. Paul, perhaps in order to sign the letters to Europe. I then went to the nut-godown.

Friday, October 9.[3]—Rangô Pandit, Morâri Râo's vakîl who has come from Sânôji Nimbâlakar, and Tirumalai Râo (Kânukôyi Siva Râo's son) who is with Chandâ Sâhib reported as follows:—'Morâri Râo has not yet

[1] See Vol. IV, p. 169, n. 1, *supra*. [2] *i.e.*, chakrams.
[3] *27th Purattâsi, Pramôdûta.*

reached Arcot. Sâmbhâji Râo has gone to Pannâda[1] from Satâra in order to get the throne for himself, and is supported by Fatteh Singh, Raghôji Bhônsla and others with all their forces. Sau Bhâji Râo attacked Râma Râjâ, son of Sivâji, younger brother of Sâmbhâji and wishes to usurp the throne.[2] The latter proposes to march after Dasara. Sâmbhâji Râo wrote from Pannâda to Morâri Râo asking him to march with 10,000 horsemen; so the latter, who is at Venkatagiri Mulavai on account of the troubles, has set out with his troops for Pannâda. Mansabdar Sanôji Nimbâlakar has sent a message to Chândâ Sâhib and the Governor, saying that if the French had marched on Arcot immediately after taking Gingee, Nâsîr Jang could easily have been seized, that all were collecting their forces, that troops had been sent for from Satâra, etc., and would soon arrive, and that the time had come for the French to move, in order to capture or slay Nâsîr Jang and establish Muzaffar Jang.' They added that as the Nawâbs of Kandanûr, Cuddapah, Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram, Râjâ Râmachandra Râo and other sardârs were on our side, our army should have continued to advance when it was at Chêtpattu instead of turning aside to Gingee. 'Don't think,' they

[1] *i.e.*, Poona.
[2] I have not found confirmation of this report.

said, 'that you cannot trust us against Nâsîr Jang, the Nizâm's son, because we formerly ate the Nizâm's food. Owing to Nâsîr Jang's misconduct we desire him to be imprisoned and another installed in his place, so that the country may be at peace and the rank of subahdar beautified.'

On hearing this, the Governor said that his troops had not retired for any lack of confidence in them, but on account of the constant rains and the flooded rivers, that the troops would advance as soon as the rains were over and the roads passable, and that he did not in the least mistrust them. In reply to the Marathi note saying, 'We should be treated as your own people,' the Governor told me to reply, without name or place, that troops would be sent, that he had always regarded them as friends, not as enemies, and that the rest would be reported by Rangô Pandit. I wrote accordingly, and sent the Pandit away, assuring him that he could rely on what had been said to him.

The Governor sent to M. d'Auteuil, who in despondency had moved from Chêtpattu to Gingee, a report of this news and the note. He was then busy writing letters to Europe, so I went to the nut-godown.

At half-past four this evening MM. de Kerjean and Roburent marched to Gingee.

I had complaints from travellers that Muzaffar Khân's newly raised sepoys would not let them pass along the roads without passes sealed by him. I asked him if he had the Governor's orders for this. He said, no, but that his sepoys were behaving so because they were new and untrained. There is nothing else important.

Saturday, October 10.[1]—At half-past seven this morning, by God's favour, Chiranjîvi Annâswâmi with great splendour underwent the ceremony of having his ears bored, to the sound of musical instruments and before many great people assembled. Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti, Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti and other Company's merchants gave presents and received presents in return, and I also gave a feast to all this afternoon. Thus the ceremony was performed with magnificence.

The Governor and Councillors were in Council till eleven o'clock to-day and read and signed the Europe letters.

He called me afterwards and told me to get salt to be sent by the ships to Bengal.

In the afternoon he asked if any cloth was ready for packing. I said that some would be ready on Monday.

[1] *28th Purattâsi, Pramôdûta.*

He then asked the Arcot news. I replied that the Arab I sent to serve among Nâsîr Jang's servants had been sending news which I had reported to him, and that his last letter ran as follows:—'Nâsîr Jang's army is encamped between here and Kalavai on the other side of the Tiruvottiyûr and Cheyyâr rivers. It has been raining continuously for the last four days, and as the wind has been strong all the troops are in confusion and wish to desert. As the rains have filled the Cheyyâr, the Râjâ's people cannot cross it. Moreover for want of fodder and the rains, many horses and bullocks are dying. There is confusion in the camp and the troops appear unwilling to fight. Even children playing at kings, forts and battles are more orderly than these. The horsemen are unwilling to march. It takes from sunrise to nine at night for the artillery to cover four miles; and Nâsîr Jang marches in the rear, not in front. There is no discipline. Out of 10 or 12 thousand horse, not one is ready for battle, but all are ready for flight. The sardârs not only dislike Nâsîr Jang but they have not even marched with their troops. They are still at their old quarters[1] at Arcot. There are some five lakhs of people in the town; but they are faqîrs, beggars and vagabonds; and not a

[1] Reading *Khâna* for *Pagna*.

thousand of them are soldiers. If the French advanced, they could not fail to capture or slay Nâsîr Jang or destroy his army, now that the latter is lean and backward. Indeed, it could be overthrown by any enemy. Rice is scarce and sells in camp at five pakka seers *per* rupee, so people in the town find it difficult to live, and Nâsîr Jang's troops would fly at the mere sight of an enemy. Be pleased to send money for my expenses, a Telugu writer to write news, and ten more peons besides those I have.'

On hearing this, the Governor laughed and sent it to Gingee, in a letter of his own to M. d'Auteuil, as the latter reckons the enemy too high, and retired to the Gingee forts from his former camp at Chêtpattu, though there were few men in the enemy's camp, though the sardârs there were sending men offering to join us and he knew those facts well. As he has retired ingloriously and attempted nothing in spite of frequent encouraging letters, I think [the Governor] has now written reproaching him for his delay.

This afternoon I heard nothing worth writing.

When the Council broke up yesterday, M. St. Paul, the Second, went to the sorting godown at the Fort, sent for Tiruchelvarâya Mudali (the Choultry writer) and other country

writers, and said, 'Henceforward no houses may be mortgaged or sold to St. Paul's priests, the Capuchins or the Mission people. Notices shall be issued and posted at the usual places.' Therewith he dismissed them, directing them to draw up an account of the business registered at the Choultry.[1] Gentlemen tell me that this order has been passed because the priests have accumulated great funds in Europe and the King has demanded a fifth of their wealth, amounting to a large sum. The priests used to lend money on lands, houses and gardens or to purchase them, and their wealth has grown great by the accumulation of interest. Moreover the property of men dying intestate generally goes to the Palace; and some lose money in trade or otherwise. But the priests spend little, a superior is always appointed, and their wealth remains intact. Moreover it is usual for men, at the point of death, to bequeath a share of their wealth to the priests, and those who have no heirs leave them all they have. Thus the entire wealth of the kingdom—money, lands, gardens, houses, goods, etc.—has passed into

[1] Sales, etc., of real property were registered at the Choultry. I conjecture that the 'account' related to purchases, etc., by the priests. This was in accordance with an edict issued in August 1749, forming part of Machault's scheme for compelling the French clergy to pay their fair share of taxation. See Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, Vol. VIII, part 2, pp. 233, etc.

their hands. Seeing this, the King has confiscated their lands, gardens, houses, etc., and forbidden dying men to leave the priests anything. If they do, they will be taken by the King's treasurer. Nor are men to mortgage or sell their houses, etc., to the priests. These orders have just been received here.

Monday, October 12.[1]—As cloth was being sorted and packed at the Fort this morning, I was there till eleven o'clock, and then went to the nut-godown.

Afterwards the Governor sent for me and told me to write to Tiruviti and Villupuram, ordering 300 coolies to be sent to fetch goods from Gingee. I did accordingly.

The news from Arcot is as follows:—The heavy rains every day, the storm and the floods in the Cheyyâr river, are putting Nâsîr Jang's troops encamped this side of Kalavai to indescribable difficulty. Sânôji and Râmachandra Râo who were ordered to march as an advance-guard refused as it would be dangerous and they could do nothing, and they urged that war should cease and peace be made, declaring that they only did so because they had long eaten his food, and that it would be dangerous for him to fight. They then went to Shâh Nawâz Khân and Morô Pandit and repeated to them

[1] *30th Purattâsi, Pramôdûta.*

what they had said to Nâsîr Jang. These replied that they had already advised him not to fight as his army was small, and a more favourable time would offer itself later, and told him that, if he made peace for the present, he could do what was necessary on a future occasion, otherwise he would be betrayed; but, they said, all this was fruitless, for he preferred the advice of Mîr Asad and Murtazâ 'Alî Khân according to the will of God, and perhaps he listened not to them because the prosperity which he inherited from his father and grandfather was destined to come to an end. So Sânôji and Râmachandra Râo departed in sorrow to their camp. Rice sells at four pakka seers *per* rupee and horse-gram, cholam and ragi at five seers. Nâsîr Jang's army lies between Arni and Kalavai. Having reported this news, I went to the nut-godown.

As the Governor was busy writing letters to be despatched by the Europe ships, I had little opportunity to speak with him. As I was feeling unwell, I did not go out this afternoon.

Thursday, October 15.[1]—At six o'clock this morning news came that yesterday afternoon 300 Moghul horsemen wearing pointed caps had slain all our amaldâr's peons at

[1] *2nd Arppisi, Pramôdûta.*

Tindivanam. As I was unwell, I could not go to the Governor to report this ; so I sent Madanânda Pandit to do so.

I hear that Nâsîr Jang is encamped between Arni and Vâlaippandal and that M. d'Auteuil with our soldiers and sepoys is encamped near Pattepêttai.

Friday, October 16.[1]—The Governor sent word yesterday that all business was being hindered by my absence and that I must come. So I went to him at eight o'clock in spite of headache and fever. The Governor who was busy with Europe letters sent a peon for me to the nut-godown. The peon came and told me.

The grandson of Sengamaladâs Nâyakkan and great-grandson of Vijayarâghava Nâyakkan (the former Râjâ of Tanjore)[2] had taken refuge in Mysore. He wrote to M. Le Riche at Kârikâl, that the Marathas had only conquered Tanjore by treachery and that the Râjâ of Mysore would give him all the assistance needed to recover the kingdom. M. Le Riche therefore wrote to the Governor who invited him to come in person, bringing with him a letter from the Râjâ of Mysore. I formerly heard of his setting out and he has reached Cuddalore. A Kârikâl peon has now

[1] *3rd Arppisi, Pramôdûta.*

[2] For an account of the fall of the Nâyak Princes of Tanjore, see the *Tanjore District Manual*, pp. 754, etc.

arrived with letters from M. Le Riche to the Governor and from Prakâsa Mudali's younger brother (Kulandaiyappa Mudali) to me. I took M. Le Riche's letter to the Governor and informed him that the uncle of Vijaya-râghava Nâyakkan's [great]-grandson with his son, two Brâhmans and ten peons had sent word that they were halting near Cuddalore at Vâsudêva Pandit's Choultry. The Governor ordered them to be admitted secretly and [read] M. Le Riche's letter [ ].

Thursday, October 22.[1]—M. d'Auteuil who is commanding the French army at Pattepêttai, and who has been sick, came in at six o'clock this morning. The Governor went and enquired after his health.

Peddu Nâyakkan came to me and said that Vîramarâjâ of Pulicat had written to him as follows:—Owing to orders from Negapatam, the Dutch factory people at Bunder sent all their goods by ship to Kothapatnam and Cocanada.[2] The Dutch Company's goods, and private goods belonging to the factors, their dubâsh, merchants, etc., were despatched on New Moon Day ; but when the Chief and

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[1] *9th Arppisi, Pramôdûta.*

[2] The abandonment of the Dutch factory at Masulipatam was intended as a protest against the action of the French in refusing to allow the Dutch flag to fly there. Some years later the Dutch ceded their factory (then in a ruinous condition) along with all their rights to the English.

Second were about to take leave of M. Guillard of the French factory before departing to Cocanada, they were persuaded to sup with him and depart next morning. Now the New Moon Day is unlucky; a tempest arose and the two Dutch ships sank with their cargoes of goods and money; but those escaped who were invited to the feast, without which they also would have perished. I sent for this letter and read it. When I reported the news to the Governor this morning, he asked if anything was known of our ship there. I said that she was safe.

I also reported that yesterday and the day before two or three parties of Nâsîr Jang's horse, each 500 strong, had moved within 3 miles from Perumukkal and plundered the country and carried off women; that the people of Gingee, Tindivanam, Villupuram, etc., fled to Chôlamandalam for shelter; and that many had come here from Cuddalore. But he remained silent as though not hearing what I said.

As the *Bon Voyage* is sailing for Jeddah and Mocha, a lame Saiyid boy who is sailing by her visited the Governor to take leave. M. Glainville, son of the Governor's elder sister, is also sailing by her to-day[1]; and the Governor ordered the people to make ready.

[1] He went as supercargo.

She will sail to-night. I sent three letters by her, to the Governor of Mocha, to the Sherîf of Jeddah, and to the Pâdshâh, under charge of M. Glainville. She sailed to-night.

Friday, *October 23*.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning he asked if the cadjan letter from Vanji Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ of Travancore had yet been translated. I replied, 'M. Le Beaume was busy yesterday with the shipping, so it was not written out; he said he would let me have it at nine o'clock this morning, and I have just sent for it. It will be here at once.' It came as I was speaking. When the Governor had read it, he asked for the original. I took it from the pocket of my gown. He took it and the translation, folded them up together with another French translation (signed by Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ) made by a European and which was sent with the cadjan letter. He then told me to fetch two capable agents, one a Tamil and the other a Muhammadan sent by the Râjâ. When they came, he spread out before him a map of the country from Cape Comorin to the Kistna, and asked them how many forts the Dutch held in their country and questioned them about Quilon, Cochin, Kalkulam,[2] etc. They

[1] *10th Arppisi, Pramôdûta.*

[2] One of the chief forts in Travancore. See the *Travancore Manual*, Vol. I, p. 318.

did not know north from south and could not answer all his questions. When he asked how many forts and factories the Dutch had in the Râjâ's country, they replied that the Dutch possessed one fort and four factories and that the English had a fort and two factories.[1] The Governor said, 'In case the Dutch stir up enemies against your Râjâ, I will certainly help him, but cannot make war on them, because in Europe my King is at peace with the States.[2]' The Râjâ's people replied, 'You and the Dutch are now friends; and the Dutch will stir up and help our enemies only if you are allowed to build forts in our country; otherwise we shall remain at peace. But if you will send troops, with arms, shot, powder, etc., we will trust them as ourselves and be able to do whatever may be necessary. This is what our Râjâ bade us say.'—'Well,' the Governor said, 'I shall hold a council to-morrow and give you your answer afterwards.' They begged him to act in all respects according to the Tamil cadjan letter and the copy of it in French. He dismissed them, saying that he would reply after considering the matter in council to-morrow.

[1] The fort was Anjengo, the two factories Villinjum (Brinjohn) granted in 1736 and Eddawa.

[2] Ranga Pillai writes—*états*, *i.e.*, the Government of the United Provinces.

According to the orders of the King of France, received by this year's shipping, priests may not lend money, buy houses or take mortgages; and French notices were posted accordingly at the five or six principal places and at the Governor's gate. The Governor, M. Bury, M. Duplan and M. Porcher, all read it and the Governor said to me, 'In future no one is to lend a single cash to the priests; anybody who has money should put it into the Company's treasury and not dispose of it otherwise.' M. Desfresnes and others also read the notice and departed. The Governor went into his room. I and the Kalkulam Râjâ's people went to the nut-godown; whence I sent them to their lodgings. I left the nut-godown and came home at noon.

M. de La Touche has written that Nâsir Jang's troops are encamped a league from Pattepêttai. Our amaldâr at Gingee writes that he has reached Dêsûr and that our Europeans are encamped this side of the Gingee river.

I told the Governor that news was coming from all sides of the inhabitants east and south of Gingee flying in panic to Chôlamandalam. He said nothing.

Saturday, October 24.[1]—It rained heavily from six to seven this morning and having then abated somewhat, continued till ten.

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[1] *11th Arppisi, Pramôdûta.*

I went to the Governor at half-past ten, and he told me to write to Muzaffar Khân to remain in the villages lying between Villupuram and Gingee and join our army if M. de La Touche ordered him, otherwise to remain where he was, preventing the enemy's horse from moving about, and not to send in the guns from Gingee as the time was unsuitable. I wrote accordingly.

When the Governor returned from the Beach, he said, 'As to Dairiyam, Âsârappan's younger brother, now in prison, his people came to me and offered to give a bond for the amount of the property, 4,000 pagodas, less certain debts. How long is he to be kept in prison? We must question both sides tomorrow morning and settle the affair.' I agreed and came home as it was past twelve.

'Alî Khân, who has been kept in the Fort dungeon, was sent with four men on board the *Hercule* bound for Mahé. She sailed to-night with some chests of silver. Her captain's name is Johannis.

Sunday, October 25.[1]—When the Governor returned from the church this morning, I reported to him the contents of Shaikh Hasan's letter as follows:—' 'Alî Khân who was sent by your orders to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân

[1] *12th Arppisi, Pramôdûta.*

has now returned. He will inform you of everything. It will be well to act as he advises.' I also brought the said 'Alî Khân to the Governor, and he repeated Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's message as follows:—'Tell the Governor that, if he will show me as much kindness as he does to Chandâ Sâhib, I will get Arcot from Nâsîr Jang, take leave and go to him. Either let the dress of honour be given to Chandâ Sâhib, or let it be given to me and Trichinopoly to Chandâ Sâhib. I am willing either to remain in my killa and jaghir or serve Chandâ Sâhib as dîwân.' When 'Alî Khân spoke thus, the Governor turned to Dôst Muhammad and said that he could not make head or tail of this, and that he had better write to Shaikh Hasan that the message was mere child's babble. He told me to write in his name to the same effect. I agreed, and immediately told Madanânda Pandit to do so.

Afterwards Miyân Khân, who was here before, brought a letter from Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf and a message that the Pathans had entered into communication with our army with a view to advancing and seizing Nâsîr Jang, when it arrived; but that we had delayed, and so nothing had been done. He desired therefore that our army should be ordered to advance without further delay, as the enemy was growing in strength. The

Governor replied that he need not come here again, as everything could be managed by the sardârs with our troops, and that no more men or news need be sent here. He also asked me to write a reply accordingly. It was written, and Miyân Khân received it and departed.

At six o'clock this afternoon the Governor sent for me, and asked about Muzaffar Khân's letter. I said that he had written as follows:—'M. de La Touche and M. Law have ordered me to march. As you have also ordered me to march should M. de La Touche send for me, I am marching this morning to join our army encamped at Pattepôttai this side of the river.'

I then told him that Dairiyam (Âsârappan's younger brother) and Malayappa Mudali and Sûrappa Mudali (Âsârappan's wife's *procureurs*) had come. He told me to call them. When they appeared, he asked Dairiyam why he had not paid them and settled the account. He replied, 'The account is here and they may be told to examine it. I will pay whatever is due. Let two arbitrators be appointed to settle the affair.'

Sûrappa Mudali said, 'As Chinna Mudali is the choultry dubâsh, I can find no one to serve as arbitrator. When arbitrators and the heads of castes formerly met to decide whether the disputed sum was a bride-gift or a bride price,

no decision was given until he had been kept three years[1] in the Fort, and the account had been written as they pleased. I will accept the account only if it is in the hand of the deceased Âsârappan. Moreover those who formerly stated before you that Âsârappan (who served the Company 30 years) died without leaving a cash, now after three months' imprisonment say that he died worth 4,000 pagodas less certain debts of which they produce an account.' This and several other affairs were discussed.

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Monday, October 26.[2]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said, 'The rains now prevent our army from moving. Had our army attacked Nâsîr Jang, as I wrote a fortnight ago, he would have been taken or slain. Again and again the Pathans sent asking our troops to move. Nâsîr Jang was weak and smitten with fear, but the affair was ruined by M. d'Auteuil and other officers. Now the heavy rain prevents us from using either our muskets or artillery; and this has encouraged the enemy.' I said that it was true, and after some further talk, came home. I did not see him for long this afternoon on account of the heavy rain.

[1] *Sic.* The actual time was three months.
[2] *18th Arppisi, Pramôdûta.*

According to the Governor's orders, the Poligar, Vîramarâjâ and the military and Topasses who were sent by boat from Covelong were landed this morning and imprisoned at the Choultry.

When I went to the Governor at six o'clock this evening, he said, 'Vîramarâjâ has been sent from Covelong by M. Le Blanc. Send him to the Nayinâr's house, with four peons to guard him day and night, settle his affair as you think best, and send him away.' I agreed and said, 'I have also written for Kalyânarâjâ, who shares the poligarship with him. As soon as he comes, I will settle the matter, assign his share to each and send them away ordering Vîramarâjâ to leave his family here. Vîramarâjâ, the rascal who promised to seize our amaldârs and deliver them to Darvesh Muhammad in a week, has committed many other evil actions also; and he must be kept here until he brings his family either to this place or to Covelong.' The Governor told me to do as I thought best. As it began to rain heavily, I went to the nut-godown, and then came home.

Tuesday, October 27.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said, 'Our army retreated on the evening of Saturday the 24th

[1] *14th Arppisi, Pramôdûta.*

and encamped at Seranur and thereabouts. On sighting some of Nâsîr Jang's horse, 40 dragoons under M. Des Granges with a few Muhammadan troopers mounted and charged. As it was evening and raining heavily, the Muhammadans could not fire and insisted on returning to the camp. Nevertheless M. Des Granges and his dragoons attacked the enemy without them, and, after fighting valiantly, were all killed. On learning this, our troops marched next morning and attacked the enemy so briskly that Nâsîr Jang's troops retreated about four miles.'

When he told of me the news he had received, I observed that our amaldâr at Gingee had written to me as follows :—'Some 4,000 Moghul horse were lying in ambush in several places. An officer with 50 dragoons, on seeing a few of them, attacked and killed a few Moghuls and Mîr Muzaffar Khân who, when formerly commanding 500 horse, attacked Tindivanam and those parts, slaying the amaldârs, inhabitants and bazaar people. But as the dragoons lost their way, and could not fire owing to the rain and darkness, and as there were 4,000 of the enemy, only ten escaped and the rest were killed. On learning this, our army marched the next day, slew many, but were obliged by the heavy rain to take shelter in Gingee fort. The enemy retreated

about four miles. A few horsemen approached the fort but withdrew. All the amaldârs have fled.' I added that there was great difficulty in obtaining provisions for the army.

When I related this, he told me to write to Villupuram and other places to send all the available cumbu, paddy and ragi to Gingee. I agreed, and, on reaching home, wrote accordingly.

As the Governor had written a reply in French to Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ of Travancore I went to M. Le Beaume with Mâlu Pillai and Sorâ Mudali Marakkâyar, the Râjâ's people, explained the letter to them, and wrote it out in Tamil. They noted on a paper three points of their Râjâ's letter to which the Governor had not replied, and departed saying that they would consider them and come back to-morrow.

It rained to-day also, and Muzaffar Khân wrote that he had reached Gingee.

Wednesday, October 28.[1]—As it was a feast day, the Governor went to church and heard mass. When I visited him after his return, he said, 'I will order M. Cornet to send three garse of rice to camp. Get bullocks ready to carry it.' I said that I would collect bullocks

[1] *15th Arppisi, Pramôdûta.*

in town. The Governor also sent for Parasurâma Pillai and ordered him to send biscuit, rice, etc.

The Governor then asked if Sâmbhâji Râjâ's letter had been translated into French. I said it had, so he told me to fetch it. When I brought it, he told me that the mirror, small guns[1], etc., asked for may be sent in January. I said that that might be done.

He then asked if Thana, Bassein and other ports lay within Sâmbhâji Râjâ's dominions. I said they were, and added that the Angria pirates were his subjects. 'In that case,' he said, 'he is a big man and I will certainly send the mirror and other things in January.' I came home after twelve o'clock.

The Governor afterwards said, 'Muzaffar Khân has been reading his letter from Murtazâ 'Alî Khân to Europeans and boasting to them of his importance, and even translating it to them in Portuguese. Write to him in future to send all letters straight to me and not reveal their contents to any Europeans.' I wrote accordingly.

Thursday, October 29.[2]—As it was the Dîpâvali New Moon Day, all bathed and paid the usual visits of ceremony.

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[1] Reading *Chinna* for *Chind*.
[2] *16th Arppisi, Pramôdûta.*

Our peon Krishnâji arrived from Nâsîr Jang's camp with a letter from Khâzi Dâyem. I took him to the Governor to report its contents. The Governor asked where Nâsîr Jang's army was. Krishnâji said, 'Nâsîr Jang is encamped about four miles north-east of Vellimêttupêttai and our troops at Gingee, so the two armies are a league or a league and a half apart. Nâsîr Jang has 15,000 good horse, and a further body mounted on mules and other beasts fit only to carry baggage. He suspects Shâh Nawâz Khân and Morô Pandit of being unfaithful to their salt, so these can do nothing in Pondichery affairs. Mîr Asad and Murtazâ 'Alî Khân have become Nâsîr Jang's constant advisers, urging him on against Pondichery and Chandâ Sâhib, and hindering their business. Moreover he means to seize the Nawâbs of Cuddapah, Kandanûr, Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram, and only awaits an opportunity. But these, having learnt his purpose, are doing their utmost to circumvent him. None dare sleep in the camp for fear of a French attack.' On hearing this, the Governor asked about the fight on Saturday. Krishnâji replied, 'Mîr Muzaffar 'Alî, the Moghul sardâr of horse, ten or fifteen days ago, burnt Tindivanam and other places, slew the amaldârs and displayed his power round Perumukkal, etc. He was shot. Kâlay

Khân, another sardâr, perished in the same way. A Moghul jemadar of lower rank was also killed with ten or fifteen men and as many wounded. The forty or fifty French dragoons that attacked were all killed but ten, as the enemy were two or three thousand strong, and favoured by the rains and darkness. I was in Nâsîr Jang's tent when the news was brought to him.' 'Well,' the Governor said, 'tell me what Khâzi Dâyem says.'

He answered as follows :—'Nâsîr Jang was willing to be your friend if you would have regarded him as you regarded Muzaffar Jang. Provided Chandâ Sâhib's and Muzaffar Jang's names had not been mentioned, he would have confirmed your jaghir, granted the subah to any one you pleased who was not of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's family, and also paid the amount of Muzaffar Jang's debt. But although you were informed of this, yet you were obstinate. Furthermore when Muzaffar Jang, his enemy, fell into his hands, Nâsîr Jang thought that this was the end of the troubles, and proposed to settle the Arcot affair; but instead of minding your own affiairs and contenting yourself with your jaghir, you attacked countries depending upon Arcot, and how could you expect him to overlook that? Moreover when he sent Muhammad 'Alî Khân with troops into the countries you had seized, you

drove him out, seized Gingee and threatened Arcot itself. Thus you forced Nâsîr Jang to march against you. But now let bygones be bygones. If you will be as friendly as you were in the time of Imâm Sâhib and send respectable people under oath, he will send similar persons to you and himself visit Pondichery amid public rejoicings to see the sights, become your friend, and do whatever you desire. But if he were to give way now, all would think him weak, feeble and helpless, and only yielding out of fear. Such is the message from Khâzi Dâyem.'

Khâzi Dâyem's letter ran as follows:—'If you desire my help in this matter, I give it and I now write, although it is long since you wrote to me. You have written no letter about your affairs for eight months. Do not behave thus, but act so that our friendship may increase, that the country and inhabitants may live in quiet and that you and Nâsîr Jang may be friends. I send other news by Krishnâji, who will relate them to you. Consider and do what is necessary. However perplexed the matter may be, peace may be made by the intervention of the wise.'

The Governor ordered a reply to be written to Khâzi Dâyem as follows:—'I am rejoiced at your letter. You say that my relations with Nâsîr Jang should not be as they are and that we

should be friends, and you propose to mediate if I am willing. I have ever been Nâsîr Jang's well-wisher and have not sought his enmity; moreover I have always desired the country, merchants and inhabitants to be at peace. I shall rejoice if you will discuss matters and settle them equitably. If you will judge with justice, why should I seek other means to settle affairs? I have heard that you are wise, so you will easily end the dispute. The rest will be related to you by Krishnâji.'

As soon as I had finished it, he told me to read it out, and then having sealed it, sent for Krishnâji and said, 'Tell Khâzi Dâyem in answer to his message that I will be friends with Nâsîr Jang, help him as I have loved and helped Muzaffar Jang, show him all the sights here, do as he desires about those who come and go between us, and swear to perform what shall be agreed to.' He also told Krishnâji to say that their horsemen should not fight while the negotiations were going on, that he would write to his troops to the same effect, and that no horsemen should be allowed to approach the place. He said he would do so and received the letter. The Governor told me to give him 30 rupees on his departure. I said I would.

He then asked if I had sent off Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ's letter. I replied that I had taken it to M. Le Beaume and had it translated

into Tamil in the presence of Mâlu Pillai and Sorâ Mudali, but that they had complained that three points of the Râjâ's letter had been left unanswered. He told me to send for them. When they had come and taken their seats, he asked them what they objected to. They replied, 'Firstly the Râjâ asks you to prevent all hat-men except the French Company's people from entering his kingdom; but no answer is given to this. Secondly it is written that, if the Râjâ attacks any, he will be to blame and you cannot help him. That should not be written, for you are only asked to destroy the enemies who are still troubling us. Although the Râjâ himself can destroy his enemies, he has sent to you because the Dutch are helping them.'

APRIL 1751.

Friday, April 16.[1]—In 1745 Mîr Ghulâm Husain lent the Company a lakh of rupees; and on May 24, 1749 (*i.e.*, the 14th Vaigâsi, Sukla), he ordered his sister's sons (Mîr Ka'ba 'Alî Sâhib and his younger brothers) to give 64,000 rupees of this sum to the Governor and give a receipt for it to the Company.[2] That same day, he spoke with M. Dulaurens about it and went to the *Greffier*, M. Desmarêts, before whom he signed a Persian deposition to the effect that he had been treated unjustly and closely imprisoned, that by the intervention of 'Abd-ul-rahmân and myself a receipt had been given for 64,000 rupees on May 24, 1749, but that the receipt was invalid. This deposition which told the whole story was left with M. Dulaurens, and on January [2,] 1751 (*i.e.*, 22nd Mârgali, Pramôdûta) it was delivered by his son-in-law, M. Barthélemy, to the Governor. Immediately he sent for Mîr Ghulâm Husain's nephews. Mîr Ka'ba 'Alî Sâhib, the eldest, was away at Vellore, so his younger brothers, Mirzâ 'Alî Sâhib and Mîr 'Abd-ul-lah Sâhib, came

[1] *7th Chittirai, Prajôtpatti.*
[2] Cf. Vol. VI, pp. 396 and 415, *supra*.

instead. The Governor asked why this paper had been deposited with M. Dulaurens, and why it had been signed at the *Greffe*. He then told Madanânda Pandit to read it and me to translate it into French to him and into Hindustani to those two. We therefore did so. When it had been interpreted, the Governor told them that he would pay them their money presently and asked them to bring the Company's bond and write a formal receipt at the *Greffe*. They replied, 'How can we do so when the money has already been given to you? If we did how could we continue to live here? Moreover this paper must have been written by an enemy. We are three brothers; but there are only two names to the deposition and they are written in the same hand. Should it not also bear our seal? But there is none. Surely we have never done this thing.'

When they thus solemnly denied the writing, it was shown to Chandâ Sâhib, his son, and Mîr A'azam and they were told what had taken place. They replied that these were bad people, and advised that they should be imprisoned and their wealth seized.[1] The Governor agreed to do so, and calling the two brothers, told them ambiguously to come again

[1] Chandâ Sâhib had already tried to get hold of the family property. See Vol. VI, p. 211, *supra*.

with their eldest brother and receive what was due to them. They replied that he had said he was coming, but had not yet arrived although he had reached Cuddalore. 'We are starving,' they said, 'let Pennâttûr taluk be restored to us and let Chandâ Sâhib help us in return for the money he owes.'[1] He replied, 'Very well.'

This morning Mîr Ka'ba 'Alî Sâhib's younger brother, Mirzâ 'Alî Sâhib, and his sister's husband (whose name I do not know) came and deposed before the *Greffier*, M. Seigneur,[2] they had made no declaration before M. Desmarêts, the *Greffier*, on May 24, 1749, that they knew not who could have made it before M. Dulaurens, that the Persian paper found in his house was wholly false, for otherwise it would have been sealed with a Persian seal, as was usual, that the names of both brothers, Mîr Ka'ba 'Alî Sâhib and Mîr 'Abd-ul-lah, were written in the same hand and therefore the deposition was a forgery, that they would swear before God that it was so, and that they would declare a thousand times that the Persian deposition at the *Greffe* was entirely false. Thus they bore clear witness

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[1] The Tamil of this passage appears corrupt. The translation is offered under reserve.

[2] He came out in 1750 and was a lawyer by profession. Pondichery to the Company, September 20, 1750 (*Arch. des. Col.*).

in their defence, adding that Mîr Ka'ba 'Alî Sâhib, Mîr 'Alî Sâhib and Mîr 'Abd-ul-lah Sâhib were the heirs of Mîr Ghulâm Husain's property, and the deposition was sealed. The Governor said that he wanted the deposition recorded in both French and Persian, that the two copies should be sealed with new seals tomorrow and that their eldest brother at Cuddalore should also be sent for and his seal affixed. They agreed to do this, and having made their deposition in French and Persian at the *Greffe*, went home at one o'clock. I also came home.

A salute of 21 guns was fired this evening, according to the Governor's orders, on account of the news sent by M. La Tour that the Chêtpattu fort had been taken, the French flag hoisted and Mîr Asad and his wife made prisoners. When he sent for me and told me what M. La Tour had written, I offered my congratulations. The councillors and others came afterwards and did the same.

Afterwards he asked what Chandâ Sâhib had written. I said that (besides what is written above about our people's fighting) he complained that they preferred plunder to fighting, entered the fortifications, plundered more than two lakhs of rupees in the town, but luckily had not got into the fort; that he had sent M. La Tour, Pâpayya Pillai and

Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân into the fort, promising M. La Tour a quarter of what might be found there; and that he would write again when they had reported.

The Governor ordered me to reply that Mîr Asad should be imprisoned in the Râjagiri fort at Gingee, and his children sent to Pondichery; that two lakhs of rupees could not have been plundered in the town,—2,000 could hardly have been found there; but that with God's blessing a large treasure would be found in the fort. I told Madanânda Pandit to write accordingly, and had the letter despatched.

Saturday, April 17.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he had sent for M. St. Paul, the Second. He told him that he and I were to examine the Company's list of the investment amounting to 3 lakhs of pagodas.

The Second asked whether the Kârikâl contract was included in this amount or whether it was separate. He replied that it was separate, and added that 20,000 pieces of Pâchchakkadai muslin and 180 corge of Tranquebar handkerchiefs were required. The Second asked if these should be included in the Kârikâl contract. The Governor replied angrily that the same should be done as had been in the contracts of last year and the year before.

[1] *8th Chittirai, Prajôtpatti.*

The Second agreed and took leave of the Governor, telling me to come with him. He asked what had really been done. I explained that no money had been given out nor gumastahs sent the year before last on account of the troubles with Nâsîr Jang. The Second agreed, but said that the Governor's orders must be obeyed. I went to the nut-godown, saying that I would gladly agree to supply not only Pâchchakkadai muslin and Tranquebar handkerchiefs but also any other sort that might be wanted. The Second then went home.

Sunday, April 18.[1]—I write below what I heard, when M. Delarche interpreted to the Governor the letter received from Salabat Jang's camp, 12 kos beyond the Kistna :—'After taking Kandanûr and making prisoners of Himâyat Bahâdûr Khân and his family, he left Haidar Sâhib, son-in-law of Muzaffar Khân *alias* 'Abd-ul-rahmân, to garrison the killa with a small force, and gave Muzaffar Khân a mansab of 7,000 horse, granted him the Fish and other honours and made him killedar[2] of two forts. He also granted mansabs and jaghirs to Muzaffar Khân's son-in-law and others. Salabat Jang then advanced 16 kos beyond the Kistna where the Maratha army awaited him. They sent him word by their

1 *9th Chittirai, Prajôtpatti.*
2 Reading *killavilai* for *dillarilai.*

vakîl that they would make terms only for 50 lakhs of rupees in ready money and jaghirs for 70 lakhs, otherwise they would prepare to attack him. Salabat Jang replied that he would only pay the same *chauth* and allow the same jaghirs as Nizâm had paid and allowed formerly, but not a blade of grass more and that, if they would not accept this, he preferred war. Thereupon, the Marathas made ready; but as Bâlâji Râo, Fatteh Singh, Raghôji Bhônsla and others lay encamped on the banks of the Kistna with an army of 40,000 horse, near Salabat Jang, news came from Satâra that Sâhu Râjâ's wife Târâ Bai Umma Bai had been imprisoned and that internal dissensions were likely. They therefore settled the matter at any rate by accepting a sanad for the *chauth* of Golconda, the Carnatic and Trichinopoly.[1] There, Râmadâs Pandit visited Bâlâji Râo, who sent his younger brother's son with a few jemadars to meet him. After their interview, Bâlâji Râo presented him with an elephant, a horse, a pair of diamond ear-rings, a *turra*, *sarpech*, pendant and other rich presents. Râmadâs Pandit then took leave of Bâlâji Râo and returned to Salabat Jang's camp. The latter rewarded him with a mansab for 7,000 horse, granted him the Fish and other honours,

[1] See Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas* (ed. 1912), Vol. II, p. 47.

together with killas and jaghirs. The Marathas then returned to Satâra on account of the troubles. Salabat Jang will proceed to Hyderabad, stay there 10 or 15 days to settle affairs, and then march to Aurangabad.'

I do not know what has been written by Râmadâs Pandit, M. Bussy and Salabat Jang; but I hear that Shâh Nawâz Khân departed to Aurangabad without leave from Salabat Jang, taking with him 12 Europeans and sepoys who were attending on him, and that M. Bussy in anger at their thus departing sent men with a letter to fetch his people back. It is also said that the Pâdshâh has sent Salabat Jang a sealed parwâna for the Deccan subahs, and that Salabat Jang has promised to give M. Delarche a lakh of rupees. M. Bussy is said to be well.

The Governor did not go out this evening after reading his letters. I will note his replies when I learn them. Besides what I heard, the Governor told me that Bâlâji Râo, Bhâji Râo's son, intended to send him presents with a letter.

Chandâ Sâhib's letter to the Governor received to-day runs as follows:—'I have settled the Vellore affair according to your desire for 6 lakhs of rupees—3 lakhs in ready money and 3 lakhs within a limited time. As you wished I offered Shaikh Hasan 50,000 rupees; but he haughtily refused to receive it, demanding

either the Vellore killa or the six lakhs of rupees obtained in that affair. If I gave him this, how could I pay the establishment or give you presents and repay my debt to you?'

When I reported all this to the Governor, he told me to reply as follows:—'I have received and understood your letter, and rejoice that the Vellore affair has been settled for six lakhs of rupees. As agreed, you may receive three lakhs in ready money and three lakhs within a limited time, as it will be best that you should have a friend at Vellore. As for Shaikh Hasan's refusing to accept the 50,000 rupees agreed upon and his demanding either the Vellore killa or the six lakhs of rupees obtained thence, I have written to Shaikh Hasan that he shall have half a lakh more, together with the fort and jaghir of Arni, yielding two lakhs of rupees, and his uncle, Muhammad Kamâl, Kunjangadai,[1] together with a jaghir.'

He then told me to send orders to Shaikh Hasan as follows:—'I understand that you have haughtily refused the 50,000 rupees offered you by Chandâ Sâhib and demanded the Vellore fort or six lakhs of rupees. You can have no excuse for this. The Vellore affair was settled by my intervention and orders. I have now written to Chandâ Sâhib to give

[1] Probably Ranjangudi, near Vâlikondâpuram. See the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, Vol. I. p. 303.

you a lakh of rupees in ready money, together with the fort of Arni and a jaghir yielding two lakhs of rupees, and to your maternal uncle, Muhammad Kamâl, the Kunjanaigadai killa and a jaghir. He will give accordingly and you had best accept this. You are not behaving as you formerly did, and seem not to know your true position. Remember what you were. If you step aside from the right path, you shall suffer for it.' I wrote the two letters accordingly and got them sealed and despatched.

Saturday, April 24.[1]—Six or seven days ago a cowle was written and sealed with the Governor's seal, offering to Tîttarappa Mudali[2] of Tinnevelly a lease of the Tinnevelly country on condition of his paying ten lakhs of rupees to Chandâ Sâhib and presents of a lakh of rupees to the Governor, 50,000 and odd rupees to the Governor's wife and 10,000 rupees to Madanânda Pandit and others. Tîttarappa Mudali's gumastahs, Vaithilinga Pillai and others, were then sent for. Vaithilinga Pillai, who was at Cuddalore, did not come but sent his gumastahs, Sankaranârâyana Pillai and the Kômutti Bâlaguruvi

[1] *15th Chittirai, Prajôtpatti.*

[2] This was the man who subsequently attempted to farm Tinnevelly for Muhammad 'Alî and the English on a rent of 11 lakhs. Orme merely calls him 'Moodilee,' See Orme, *History*, Vol. II, pp. 105, etc.

Chetti. Now Dîkshappayyan, one of the principal Brâhmans of Tinnevelly, who was waiting at the house of Gundô Pandit to complain against Tîttarappa Mudali's management of that country, had grown dissatisfied with Chandâ Sâhib. Moreover, as Muhammad 'Alî Khân had been made strong at Trichinopoly by the English, and as Chandâ Sâhib was not in possession of the country, Dîkshappayyan made friends with Tîttarappa Mudali's gumastah, Vaithilinga Pillai; and, by means of Madame and two Guzarâti mediators, settled, as is said above, for 11½ lakhs. The five years' lease was to be sent to Chandâ Sâhib, and it was agreed that Tîttarappa Mudali was to manage the country for June and July, keeping an account of the cost of the horse and foot,[1] and of the collections that should be made. Accordingly Chandâ Sâhib has been asked to send a lease for five years from the beginning of the present year *Prajôtpatti*. I heard the above news to-day. I also hear that Madanânda Pandit has been ordered to write to the Maravan Udayâ Thêvan of Nâlukôttai[2] and other poligars to give

[1] The collection of the Indian revenues, in Southern India at all events, always involved armed force in the eighteenth century.

[2] *i.e.*, the poligar of Sivaganga, usually called in eighteenth century works the Little Marawar, as opposed to the poligar of Ramnad, who was the Greater Marawar. Caldwell says he received the name used in the text from the name of his ancestral village. *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 210.

Tîttarappa Mudali all possible assistance in obtaining the Tinnevelly country; that he has written accordingly, and that the Brâhman Dîkshappayyan, Sankaranârâyana Pillai and Bâlaguruvi Chetti would await the arrival of the lease from Chandâ Sâhib and the answers from the Maravan and other poligars.

I also hear that while Vaithilinga Pillai, Tîttarappa Mudali's gumastah, was at Cuddalore, Kumarappa Mudali[1] sent for him and said that Chandâ Sâhib might never get Trichinopoly, that Êkâmbara Ayyan would arrange by means of Bôlam Râjâ's son-in-law to get (Tîttarappa Mudali) the lease of Tinnevelly, and that the Government of Fort St. David would write about it to Mr. Cope, who is with Muhammad 'Alî at Trichinopoly. We shall see what actually happens.

This evening the Governor sent everything out to Mortândi Choultry, where he proposes to stay for the next month with Madame and certain others, and on his way to Mortândi Choultry he passed by the washing place. There he questioned me about the washing and the merchants' supplying cloth. After inspecting another washing place, he got into his carriage, and, when I took leave of him, he told me to be careful of the town

[1] Thomas Saunders' dubâsh, occupying at St. David's a position not unlike Ranga Pillai's at Pondichery.

management and to visit him every other day to report the news. He then drove off alone.

Twenty-one guns were fired as Madame passed the Madras gate with the horse guards, and another salute on her arrival at Mortândi Choultry.

Sunday, April 25.[1]—As to-day was New-Moon Day and the Governor was out of town, I did not go out. News has come from the house of Chandâ Sâhib's wife that of those who attacked 'Alam Khân in the Madura fort, 'Abd-ul-wahâb Khân has been killed, and Mr. Cope and others who were wounded have reached Trichinopoly. I know not how true this is.

On the 22nd I received a letter from the amaldâr of Covelong, saying that sepoys and Topasses, with 10 or 20 Europeans and others, had been sent from Madras by the English on the 16th to tie *tôranams* in the Tiruppâchûr country. I doubted this news, but have now noted it, as a dubâsh on his way from Madras to Fort St. David gave me the same news to-day; and Poonamallee and Chingleput people as well as Ranga Âchâriyâr and others said the same.

Wednesday, April 28.[2]—For the last two or three days I have been hearing that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's army, Mr. Cope and his

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[1] *16th Chittirai, Prajôtpatti.* [2] *19th Chittirai, Prajôtpatti.*

troops, Husain Muhammad Khân, the amaldâr of Tinnevelly, and his people, who advanced against 'Alam Khân, Chandâ Sâhib's man, and attempted to take Madura fort, were defeated and put to flight. Just as even a worm will raise its head and dance when it sees the cobra dancing, so the English, their hearts burning with jealousy of the French, have themselves attempted to conquer their enemies and get possession of territory. But who can get what he wants by the mere force of desire? He alone succeeds whose destiny it is and whose hand is marked with the line of victory. So Muhammad 'Alî Khân and the English, in whom he trusted, have been defeated and put to flight, losing 400 or 500 people and their weapons. This is what I hear. I have written accordingly.

Thursday, April 29.[1]—As I heard to-day that the Governor was going to examine the Valudâvûr fort, I put off going to Mortândi Choultry.

Friday, April 30.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning to see the Second and told him that coarse blue cloth, baftas, thick cloth, chintzes, handkerchiefs, lampasses, etc., 23 bales in all, could be packed to-morrow; I also mentioned to him, among other affairs, Mannâru Nâyakkan's

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[1] *20th Chittirai, Prajôtpatti.* [2] *21st Chittirai, Prajôtpatti.*

and Âsârappan's wife's disputes; and then went to the nut-godown. As I was drinking tea, a Company's peon came and said that the Governor wished to see me. Although it was past ten and the heat was severe, I went to Mortândi Choultry. The Governor and Madame were listening to Madanânda Pandit. So I stood aside with my companion, Krimâsi Pandit, the vakîl from Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore. The Governor then explained to Madame what replies he wished to be written by Madanânda Pandit; and, as they departed, he called me and said that the Maravar and others had attacked Mr. Cope's and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's armies, broken them and captured three cannon, 500 muskets, etc., that Mr. Cope had been twice wounded and had fled to Trichinopoly with his beaten army, that one of Mr. Cope's European officers and 100 soldiers and 200 or 300 sepoys had fallen in the action; and the rest abandoned their arms to escape no one knows where. 'Never,' he said, 'have the English been so disgraced! To throw away their arms before such paltry people as these poligars! It is marvellous that they can still show their faces anywhere.' I said, 'If the leader of the Moghuls had been fortunate, they would have succeeded, whether they had English help or not. But God has not been pleased to bless any Râjâ or even the Pâdshâh

himself with such success as he has bestowed on you. The lion may break the elephant's head; but no jackal can. Like the jackal, they grew jealous of your victories, the fame of which has spread throughout the world so that men even in Delhi tremble at your name, and sought to conquer countries as you have done. So they went to fight; but in the end they have earned nothing but dishonour and rendered themselves so ridiculous that men call them impotent, fit only to trade and deal in women's cloths, but not to march and fight like soldiers.' When I spoke thus, he heard me with joy, and I continued, 'I hear that Mr. Saunders is so angry at the retreat of Mr. Cope and his army, that he has recalled both him and the troops encamped near Tiruviti. I hear that the latter have been ordered into the bounds. But the truth will be known hereafter.'

He asked if the deposition of Mîr Ghulâm Husain's sons-in-law at the *Greffe* had been sealed as well as signed. I replied that the two brothers were said to be preparing seals for the purpose; that their brother-in-law, Murtazâ Sâhib, had gone to fetch the eldest brother's seal; and that they would come to-morrow, as soon as they had got them, and seal the deposition. He told me to see it was done quickly, I said I would do so.

He then asked if I had duly received the lakh of rupees which Nârâyana Sâstri had said would be gained in a certain transaction. I replied that I had already paid 11,000 rupees to his writer and that I would pay him 8,000 rupees just received together with the balance which was being collected, as soon as it was received. He told me to get it in soon and then dismissed me. I took leave accordingly.

As I was passing by a tree, Madanânda Pandit came out of a tent and returned my greeting with a blessing. He said, 'When the Governor saw your palankin, he asked if Pâpayya Pillai had sent your parwâna for Chingleput. I said he had not. He then ordered me to write to him that he had not sent your parwâna although two letters had been written about it, and that evil would befall him unless he sent it without further delay. I am just writing, accordingly, the order to Pâpayya Pillai.' I thanked him.

He then said, 'The Governor sent the old cowle from Salabat Jang to Muhammad 'Alî Khân of Trichinopoly, and wrote desiring him to accept it and deliver the fort to Chandâ Sâhib's people. His reply was received on Monday the 26th. He said he had received from Ghazî-ud-dîn Khân at Delhi a copy of a parwâna granting him the subahs of the Payanghat and Balaghat, and directing him

to take possession of them, together with a copy of the Pâdshâh's letter to Ghazî-ud-dîn Khân, both copies bearing the Qâzi's seal. He thus announced that he had received a sanad in his name together with a letter of compliment and desired that his messengers might receive a present of ten rupees each and be dismissed with joy. The Governor was exceedingly angry on reading this letter, and has been sending two or three letters a day to Chandâ Sâhib urging him to settle the Arni matter without waiting to capture the fort, and then, without turning aside to Arcot, to march upon Trichinopoly by way of Tiruvannâmalai without delay. So the Arni affair will be settled. The old proposal to take the fort and bestow it upon Hasan-ud-dîn Khân has been given up, and it has been decided to give him the fort of Chêtpattu instead. Some time ago Chandâ Sâhib was asked to give Hasan-ud-dîn Khân a lakh of rupees for the pay of his troops; but he has now been told to give two lakhs. It has been settled that the Fort of Chêtpattu and a jaghir yielding a revenue of two lakhs of rupees shall be given to Hasan-ud-dîn Khân.

Yesterday Madame wrote to Chandâ Sâhib asking that a lease for three or five years of the Pânchmahals (Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, Venkatâmpêttai, Tîrtanagari, etc., villages) should be

given to Rangô Pandit. She also said that Nârâyana Sâstri had given bribes on one occasion of 4,000 rupees and on another of 3,000 rupees, that your son-in-law, the son of Sadâsiva Pillai of Venkatâmpêttai, had given Nârâyana Sâstri 1,500 rupees and a pendant, that your friend Nârâyana Sâstri was his enemy and that therefore Chandâ Sâhib should not leave the country in his possession, but, according to her desire, give the lease to Rangô Pandit, and finally that his affairs were being managed neither by you who had been his dubâsh for a long time, nor by M. Delarche, who had been so for a short time, but by her, so that they would now be managed with propriety.

She took advantage of the Governor's going yesterday to Valudâvûr to make me write in such terms to Chandâ Sâhib. I wrote therefore and sent it off. I told her that when the Pânchmahal affair was discussed it was decided to give the [lease] to Nârâyana Sâstri and put him in possession on condition of his paying a lakh of rupees, that two lakhs of rupees had been afterwards demanded, and that you had drawn up an agreement to this effect, with the Governor's approval, so that Chandâ Sâhib could not give the lease to Rangô Pandit, the Governor would disapprove when he learnt of it, and her labours would

be in vain. She replied that the Governor had said nothing about it. I explained that he would have done so had he known her intentions. She only said that she would see about it and still told me to write the letter. She also wanted me to write to Chandâ Sâhib about Faqîr Sâhib's affair. I told her that the Governor had examined all the documents and witnesses about the unjust payment exacted from Mîr Muzaffar Faqîr Sâhib, and having ascertained the truth, had imprisoned [the evil-doers]. "Nonsense," she said, "that was all contrived by Ranga Pillai," and she again told me to write about him to Chandâ Sâhib. I repeated that Faqîr Sâhib was a good man, and said that he would come and see her. She then said I need not write about him.'

After hearing all this, I told Madanânda Pandit that Yâchama Nâyakkan's vakîl, Tirumalai Râo, had brought a stag, a peacock, etc., and desired him to arrange for the vakîl's visiting the Governor and then departing. After this, I and Murtazâ 'Alî Khân's vakîl returned to town.

NOMINAL INDEX.

